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THE  
HELLENIC PORTRAITS  
FROM THE FAYUM

AT PRESENT IN THE COLLECTION OF  
HERR GRAF

WITH SOME REMARKS ON OTHER WORKS OF THIS CLASS  
AT BERLIN AND ELSEWHERE

NEWLY STUDIED AND APPRECIATED

BY  
DR. GEORG EBERS

NEW YORK  
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY  
1893

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## THE HELLENIC PORTRAITS.

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IN the spring of 1888 the author of these pages undertook the grateful task of introducing to a wider circle of lovers of art and antiquity certain examples, then but just arrived in Europe, of ancient Greek portraits with which a happy accident had made him familiar before they were known to other experts and students. These portraits, in fact, merit the consideration not merely of the archæologist and the historian of art, but of every one interested in painting and its history; for they fill a gap in its records, and are not only curiosities of art, but, some of them, true and thorough works of art, as striking as they are curious, and appealing to our love of beauty no less than to our interest in the history of culture and in ethnographical research into what may be called the physiognomy of nations.

The anticipations I expressed five years ago have been fully justified—that specialists would, like myself, undoubtedly devote themselves to a study of these works, and that artists would find in these remarkable portraits a pleasing surprise, a singular charm, and perhaps even some unexpected teaching.

*Savants*, archæologists, and anthropologists in Germany, France, England, Holland, and Denmark, have written elaborate reports on these interesting works, to some extent confirming my assumptions and throwing new light on them, though sometimes contesting them; and the painters who have examined the pictures have not merely heard with the mind's ear the very voices of long ago and seen how nearly our remote ancestors had reached their present level, but have even learned something from them. The genuineness of these paintings, for which I was prepared to vouch in 1888, after a most careful investigation has long been placed beyond all doubt.

At an even earlier date we had pointed out certain wrappings of the dead, discovered in graves of post-Christian date, as adding in a remarkable degree to our knowledge of the costume and the textile arts of the time, referring more especially to the excellent scientific dissertation on these relics by Professor Karabacek. It was a merchant of Vienna, Herr Theodor Graf, who brought to Europe the very instructive Fayum papyri which form the nucleus of Archduke Rainer's collection, as well as the tablets from Tell-el-Amarna (for the most part at Berlin), which must prove of high value to the study of history, languages, and commerce in Oriental antiquity; and the same gentleman's eager and intelligent enthusiasm for such researches was successful in securing the collection of paintings here to be discussed, he having a branch of his business established in Egypt.

As a good friend of mine, from our school days together, Herr Graf allowed me to inspect these newly acquired treasures before they were shown to my col-

leagues. He brought ten of the pictures to me at Vevey, where I spent the winter of 1887-'88 for the sake of the mild climate; of the rest he sent me photographs coloured by hand, and I may truly say that each consignment was a fresh and agreeable, nay, a delightful, surprise. At the present time I have long been familiar with the whole series of portraits, and, through them, with so many different types of humanity of wonderfully marked individuality. On my return home I continued the study I had begun in Vevey of these interesting works, and I here propose to give an account of the conclusions to which I have been led as to the place of their origin, as to other monuments of the same kind with which they must be classed, the period and conditions of culture to which they owe their existence, and the peculiarities of these particular examples.

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#### THE PLACE WHERE THE WORKS WERE FOUND.

Herr Graf's agents can give us at least some general information as to the *locale* of their discovery. These portraits, like the papyri lately become famous, were all found in the district now known as the Fayum, the extensive oasis fertilized by a branch of the Nile with its numerous channels, which lies beyond the Libyan mountain range on the west of the great Nile-Valley, a stretch of pasture and orchard land between 29° and 30° north latitude. A branch line of railway, dividing from the main line to Upper Egypt at Wasta, now runs through the heart of the province, which is famous for the production of sugar cane, vegetables,

roses, and fruit; \* the olive tree also thrives here as it rarely does in the Nile Valley. Medinet-el-Fayum, the chief town of the oasis, is at a short distance from the ruins of Crocodilopolis, known under the Ptolemies as Arsinoë. This town, as a result of the discovery among its remains of certain fragments of papyrus, has recently undergone a sort of resurrection, different in character but otherwise not less interesting than that of Pompeii; for whereas Pompeii was rescued from oblivion by the pick and spade, the patience and acumen that have deciphered these half-destroyed lists of revenues, rolls of accounts, and the like, have made us so familiar with Arsinoë that we know not merely its streets, squares, and public buildings, but the number, names, and possessions of the inhabitants of some of the houses. Much of the life of the citizens lies before us as in an open book, and records of various expenses tell us to what festal or other purposes the revenues even of the temples were applied.

Under the Ptolemies Arsinoë was a considerable Greek colony; and even under the Roman emperors it was still a flourishing provincial town, the most important doubtless of the whole district; so that when we learn that the Fayum was the scene of the discovery of these pictures a suspicion irresistibly forces itself upon us that they were executed for the sometime citizens of Arsinoë. But Herr Graf's agents found them at Rubaiyat near Roda, and on seeking this place on a map of the Fayum we see that it is nearly fourteen miles from Arsinoë, so that the inhab-

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\* The branch line goes past Medinet-el-Fayum, and through the orchard land to the sugar factory at Abuksa.

itants of that town had to send their dead a considerable distance, if indeed they were buried at Rubaiyat. But the character of these portraits proves that they were painted for the citizens of an important town; and though we shall see that at a later period the Arsinoites seem to have buried their dead in a spot much nearer home, they must still have clung to the ancient custom of interment at the edge of the desert, although it lay at no small distance from the town in the heart of the garden land. It has long been known that the Egyptians never laid out cemeteries or erected funereal monuments in fertile ground. All the buildings connected with the service of the dead are on the soil of the desert, and where we find rock tombs they are in the cliffs of stony and barren hillsides.

Moreover, a Greek inscription engraved by Arrian—a disciple probably of Epictetus—explicitly tells us:

“ The Gods of old formed the towering hilltops,  
Stinting with care the corn-bearing meadow land.”

But it was not only to economize the arable land that the Egyptians consigned their burial grounds and all connected with them to the desert; it was because, in the fields washed by the inundation, the mummies, which above all else must be cherished and preserved, would have been soaked and destroyed. There is no reason, therefore, to dispute U. Wilcken's \* statement when he asserts that bodies were brought from so far as Arsinoë to be buried in the tombs at Rubaiyat. But they were also used by the inhabitants of another

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\* U. Wilcken, an article in the *Jahrbuch des K. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, iv, 1889, pt. I, p. 4.

smaller and less known place, namely Kerke (Κερκή), which can have had but little connection with Arsinoë since it belonged to another government—a circumstance which makes it not indeed impossible but more difficult to identify the mummies of Rubaiyat as those of the citizens of Arsinoë, for extreme and often hostile peculiarities divided adjoining districts. To Abydos, for instance, the dead were brought from various nomes, though the often-mentioned “passage of the corpse to Abydos” may be taken as merely a figure of speech. Moreover, several of the mummy labels, to be described presently, tell us that bodies from Philadelphos, which was in the government of Arsinoë, were buried at Kerke, which belonged to that of Memphis. And with the portraits wooden tablets have been found with more or less injured inscriptions, all recording the fact that the burial ground of Rubaiyat belonged to the harbor, or landing place (ὄρμος), of Kerke,\* while on the largest and smallest tablets alike it is expressly stated that this was within the boundaries of the nome or government of Memphis.

Thus Memphis, and not Arsinoë, was the chief town in which the authorities ruling over Kerke resided; and this judicial connection is quite intelligible, since Rubaiyat, which we may regard as its necropolis, lies on the ridge which forms the natural limit line between the Fayum and the nome of Memphis. It is, however, hard to reconcile the designation of Kerke as a harbor or landing place with the present state of the hydrography of the district; for Rubaiyat now

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\* Ἐν ὄρμῳ Κερκῆ is more correctly rendered *at the wharf of Kerke* than *in the harbor of Kerke*.

lies in a spot but sparingly irrigated by one of the narrow channels known locally as Bats, and its still narrower side streams; this is, in fact, a canal from the Bahr-Jusuf (or Joseph's channel) which supplies the whole of the Fayum with water. Whether Wadi Wardane, discovered and mapped by Linant de Bellefonds, was ever navigable in ancient times, making Kerke a practicable shipping place, can no longer be decided; but according to Stadler, the present government entertains a project for making it available as a water way through the province. It was to be expected that few traces should be visible of the network of canals which formerly gave the Fayum its fertility. It has undergone many great changes even within the period between the survey of the French engineers under Napoleon (*Description de l'Egypte*) and that made a few years since, as shown in Schweinfurth's map. The statement that Kerke, near the modern Rubaiyat, was a river port, and, as we learn from our portraits, a place of some importance, is calculated to throw fresh light on a much disputed matter, the irrigation and water ways of the Fayum in ancient times. Kerke, too, perhaps, was one of the older towns of Egypt, for on the ridge to the east, within less than two hours' camel ride from Rubaiyat, the remains of a pyramid have been found quite unconnected with the necropolis of Memphis.

Besides the wooden tablets \* discovered with the portraits, two hitherto unpublished Greek *ostraca* mention the town of Kerke. These were communicated to me by the kindness of Prof. Wilcken. They were

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\* The tablets were name labels attached to mummies.

found on the hill of Sedment, which divides the Fayum from what was the government of Herakleopolis, at about eight hours' camel ride from Rubaiyat.\*

The most interesting of the Greek documents in which mention is made of this place is that on the second wooden mummy label from Rubaiyat; it can only be interpreted as meaning that an individual, whose name is unfortunately lost, after living in the village of Philadelphos, was brought after death to the port or landing place at Kerke, where evidently a large cemetery existed.

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MUMMY CASES WITH PORTRAITS.—THE BERLIN COLLECTION.—THE STRUCTURE OF THE TOMBS,  
AND WHAT IT PROVES.

Memorials which must be generally classified with these portraits are in the wider sense numerous; in a narrower sense they are rare.

It was from early times a practice among the heathen Egyptians to place an effigy of the deceased outside the case which contained the mummy; but in remote ages this was not a portrait painted on the mummy case, but a molded mask decorating the head

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\* He also points out the name Kerke in two composite names—Kerkesouchos, the dwelling of Sebak, the crocodile-god, and Kerkasoros (Herodotus ii, 15), the place where the Nile is said to have divided into the Canopic and Pelusiac branches. Thus the old rendering "the dividing of Osiris" must be abandoned; the name must read Kerkeusiris (*Κερκεούσις*), and be interpreted as "the dwelling of Osiris."—*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, Berlin, 1883, p. 162.

end of it. The hands, too, were not infrequently modeled, while the lid of the case itself was shaped in imitation of the swathed corpse, all in one, the legs undivided, with a slight elevation over the feet. Such sarcophagi exist made of various kinds of stone, of wood, and most frequently of a sort of *papier-maché*, which the ancient Egyptians prepared with masterly skill; and this form was so highly admired among neighboring nations that the Phœnicians, for instance, adopted it, as is proved by the Phœnician sarcophagi brought to Paris by Renan—among them that of the famous king Eschmunazar—and by those discovered at Saida (Sidon) in 1887.

On the *papier-maché* mummy cases of this shape, which, as we shall presently see, assumed from the ninth century a quite peculiar form, the portrait mask of the deceased was heightened by color; still, though we find among these some very marked and characteristic modeled faces, they are all treated with the strictly symmetrical flatness of feature that distinguishes this class of Egyptian art. Mummy cases like these from Rubaiyat, on which portraits on linen or wood are inserted at the head end instead of molded masks, are, on the other hand, rare. There are two preserved in the Egyptian collection at Dresden, others in the cabinet of coins at the Paris Library, and again others, reproduced by Gayet, in the Bulak Museum near Cairo.

There are two (now numbered provisionally as 24 and 25) in the Berlin Museum. On these the portraits are painted on the linen cover.

We are more especially concerned here with those specimens where the portrait of the deceased was

painted on wood and attached to the mummy case. We will presently return to the consideration of the painted wrappers preserved at Berlin.

Six more portraits of the same kind as Herr Graf's were acquired for the Louvre from the Clot-Bè collection; there are others in the British Museum and the National Gallery, London, and in the Berlin Museum. Since Mr. Flinders Petrie, the English antiquary, undertook his excavations in the Fayum, bringing to light a rather considerable number of portrait mummy cases, several similar works have passed into the Bulak Museum, the British Museum, the Peel Park Museum, Manchester, and others.

As it has unfortunately been impossible for me to inspect the Berlin specimens myself before printing this pamphlet, Herr Professor Erman, the enlightened director of the museum, has been good enough to describe them. There are four-and-twenty portraits, several still attached to the mummy case, and some of them remarkably fine examples. Particularly noteworthy is No. 1, representing a powerful man with negro blood in his veins; the hair and beard are woolly, the lips thick. The expression of the face is rather stupid, and the subject wears neither robe nor ornaments. The portrait, however, is capitally painted. No. 1 was perhaps the favorite servant of some rich man, who had the portrait done for him.

No. 2, still attached to the mummy, which was disinterred with others by H. Brugsch in 1892, has features of an unmistakably Semitic cast. The complexion is light, the hair very black and curly. The public call him by Jewish names.

Among the Graf collection there are six of men

and two of women, of which the originals must have been Semitic, as any one can see. These are Nos. 5, 6, 7 (this one not only on the evidence of the features), 20, 44, 49, portraits of men; Nos. 11, 12, portraits of women.

But to return to the Berlin examples. No. 7 is particularly interesting, and all the group belonging to it; they were discovered at Hawara, in March, 1892, by Professor Kaufmann and his companions, among them Major von Wissman and Dr. H. Seidel, of Brunswick. These are a mother, a father, and three children—a baby, a child of about three, and a girl of six. The mummy of this little maiden, which Dr. Seidel presented to the museum, was, like her father's, decorated with a golden mask; the mother's portrait was painted on a wooden tablet, and a tombstone found near her body bore an inscription.\* The lady must have been a woman of wealth and splendid tastes. The public, it is said, believed that she was the bedizened wife of a butcher, but the fine pearls round her throat indicate that she was of high rank. She is also known as the Lady Aline, and her name, in fact, was Alinei, or, if we take off the final *i*, Aline.

\* As follows :

ΑΙΛΙΝΗ  
Η ΚΑΙ ΤΕΝΩΣ  
ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΧΡΗ  
ΣΤΗ ΧΑΙΡΕΠΟΛΛΑ  
ΕΤΟΥΣ Ι ΛΕ Λ  
ΜΕΣΟΡΗ Ζ

'Αλινῆ	
ἡ καὶ Τενώς	
Ἡρώδου χρη-	
στὴ χαίρει πολλὰ	
ἔτους ι (δεκάτου)	λέ Λ (ἔτων 35)
μεσορῇ Ζ.	
(ἡμέρα ἑπτάα)	

The reconstruction of the data on which the translation is based is given by Professor Wilcken.

The inscription on the stone may be rendered :

Alinei  
 Also called Tenos  
 Herod's daughter  
 Thou good one  
 A tender farewell \*  
 The year 10 }  
 Mesoreh 7th } age 35

That is to say, in the tenth year of the reign of some regent or emperor, on the seventh of the Egyptian month Mesoreh—which corresponded to the month from the 17th of June to the 16th of July. Mesoreh 7th would be June 22d.

The deceased was then the daughter of a Herod. Neither the name Alinei nor the second name Tenos occurs elsewhere, but there are other Græco-Egyptian names terminating in *ηι*. We are at once reminded of Alineh, and supposed it to be a Greek feminine form of the Semitic name Ali (in Hebrew *אלי*). The Semitic form for the feminine would be Alijat or Alijah. The modern German name Aline is a derivative from the Arabic Ali—the High One. The inscription unfortunately gives no exact information, through either the date or name, as to the position of the lady and her husband, or the time when they lived. She too, perhaps, was of Semitic race. The words “the year 10” no doubt refer to the reign of some Roman emperor.

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\* *Χρηστός* is frequently addressed to the dead. *πολλά* is added to emphasize *χαῖρε*. It frequently occurs in the address of a letter : *Ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνα πολλά χαίρειν*.

The uncial letters here employed add to the difficulties of the chronology, on palæographic grounds. The merit of the painting may be accounted for by the wealth of the sitter, who could have herself depicted by an artist of high pretensions.

The portrait mummy cases at Dresden and at Bulak are of the same character as the two at Berlin. Those found at Achmim, and preserved—so far as they have not crumbled to dust—in the Bulak Museum, have portraits painted on a thin layer of stucco.

We have here made mention of these mummies to show the way in which the dead were remembered at the period when the portrait mummies were made, and also to be able to refer to them without further break in the course of this essay.

We now know more details of the tombs at Rubaiyat and of how they were discovered, for that portion of the Fayum which immediately surrounds the spot has been mapped by an Austrian engineer, Herr Stadler, and the sites sketched of some of the tombs.

From his account, and from Schweinfurth's map of 1886, it may be seen that the Bas canal, starting from the Bahr-Jusuf, connects Medinet-el-Fayum (the ancient Crocodilopolis or Arsinoë) by a loop with the Birket-el-Qerun, the largest lake in the district. After running northward for about twenty kilometres (twelve and a half miles) it expands into a small lake, at the northern side of which stands Tamieh. On the southern side stands the village of Roda, and at a kilometre (five eighths of a mile) to the southeast is Rubaiyat. The ground where the portrait mummies were found does not now form part of the cultivated land,

but is a good deal to the east, on the western side of the bare ridge which divides the field and garden land on the Libyan (left or western) side of the Nile from the oasis of the Faijum. Stadler's map here shows an extensive mass of ruins which no doubt mark the site of the ancient Kerke. To the east of these lies the necropolis within whose precincts Herr Graf's portraits, mummy cases, and labels were discovered.\*

The idea that they had been found in rock tombs

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\* Stadler's account is as follows: At six kilometres to the south-east of this village—Rubaiyat—the oasis is bounded by a strip of desert lying between the Fayum and the Nile Valley. If we turn due southward, toward the interior of this strip of desert, the practiced eye will discern the remains of a very extensive town. An enormous number of broken potsherds bear unmistakable witness to its former populousness. By tracing this stream of pottery for about five kilometres in a southerly direction, toward the range of hills which marks the limits of the province, we are led to the opened tombs whence Herr Graf's pictures were brought. The writer could still obtain a few from the same site. These tombs are not hewed in the rock, but constructed on the sandy soil of the desert, of limestone without any kind of cement, or of unburned bricks. They display a great variety of form and distribution. The accompanying plans will help to give an idea of them. The Bedouin Arabs, in digging for salt, came upon one of these tombs and several gilt sarcophagi with portraits of the deceased at the upper (head) end. These were not painted on the mummy case itself, but inserted, apparently to admit of their removal at any time to uncover the face of the dead. All the portraits discovered, even those of the mummies found afterward, were regarded as worthless by the workmen, and sold by them in the first instance to a Greek dealer in antiquities. What became of the cases, cloths, and ornaments from the plundered mummies was and remains a secret. The cases and wrappers were probably burned to avoid detection by the authorities, who would have claimed all treasure trove.

proved ill founded; they were discovered some under the sand of the necropolis and some in graves.

The most remarkable, indeed, of these tombs were not hewed out of the rock, but independent erections destined to contain the bodies of a whole family. Stadler gives drawings to scale of three of the best preserved. Two are rectangular, the third is cylindrical, the ground plan being, of course, circular. The first two are entered by a flight of steps on one side. In No. II this leads directly into a square central chamber, from which, on the three sides where there are no steps, open two long passages with side cells toward the middle and at the end. In No. III the steps lead to a passage with six cells on either hand and three at the end. The entrance of these three faces the steps. In No. I, the cylindrical tomb, a passage with a square chamber on each side, leads to a round hall, from which radiate seven cells for the reception of mummy cases. Nos. I and II are covered in with a pointed roof of triangular section; they are built of stone. No. III is of unburned bricks, and has cells for fifteen bodies; II is constructed for ten, and I for eleven mummies.

These forms of structure are not ancient Egyptian. There are, indeed, some rock tombs arranged within like No. II, but in none, excepting some of the old empire, discovered by Maspero at Sakkarah in 1881—built tombs, not rock tombs—are the chambers so narrow, or constructed to receive single bodies; in Pharaonic times these were placed in one of the divisions of the shaft cut off from the tomb. No. III reminds us in its arrangement of the tombs of Apis at Sakkarah, but these were hewed out of the rock. No. I, with its

circular plan, has no fellow in all Egypt, excepting in one place in the Fayum. It was G. Schweinfurth who found some cylindrical tombs in the southwest part of the district, at about twenty kilometres (twelve and a half miles) from Arsinoë and forty (twenty-five miles) from Rubaiyat, a little to the northwest of Rharakh, near Medinet-Mahdi. These measure between three and four metres in diameter and in height, and are built of blocks of limestone, looking like round towers. They were unfortunately so chokeful of Nile mud that Schweinfurth could not investigate their contents. He supposed that they had been erected over the opening of the vertical well, to protect the grave beneath. In our No. I all the cells to contain the mummies are horizontal, and the section of the tower is twice as large as that of the tomb at Medinet-Mahdi, being eight metres in diameter. May it not have been used as a granary, like those of which the Rhind papyrus gives a mathematical calculation of capacity?

If we now inquire what class of tomb is nearest in style to the mausoleums of Rubaiyat, the answer must be, certain rock tombs in Palestine and Phœnicia. At Rome too, no doubt, there were tombs standing detached, with several chambers for the bodies of a whole *gens*. But the *columbaria*, with niches for cinerary urns, have also some resemblance to those under discussion; and while the tombs—often designated as *æterna domus*—frequently assumed the aspect of a house or a temple, even the round sepulchres—of which that of Cecilia Metella, which, however, has a rectangular base, that of the Servilia, Virgil's tomb, and the Sepolcro Rotundo at Pompeii, are the best known examples—show a different internal arrange-

ment from that we find here. The same may be said of Greek tombs. Now, although the Hebrew and Phœnician tombs of which mention has been made are hewed out in the rock, their internal distribution has a decided resemblance to that of the built tombs of Rubaiyat. The cells in these precisely resemble in appearance the Kokim in the Hebrew rock tombs which Titus Tobler very aptly called shelf tombs (or, more exactly, pigeonhole tombs). We refer more especially to the family tomb of Queen Helena at Adiabene, now called the King's tomb, and the rock tomb wrongly designated as the tomb of the Judges, with another of the same type at Saida.

The tombs of Kerke, of which the sketch lies before me, contain chambers for only thirty-six mummies, whereas the remains of hundreds have been found; it would therefore be rash to come to any general conclusions from the internal arrangement of three remaining tombs as to the whole necropolis, in which there are said to be vast numbers of ruined sepulchres, or to assert that it was one of those burial grounds which the Jews were wont to use after the dispersion; while the Greeks and Romans did not generally bury their dead in cemeteries, but when they were rich enough erected tombs as separate structures where they could find a suitable site. They may in Egypt have accommodated themselves to the custom of the country, still it is hard to believe that any Roman or Greek sepulchre was ever constructed on a Hebrew or Phœnician plan. The hypothesis that hereditary tombs were erected in the necropolis of Kerke by some wealthy Hebrew or Phœnician families who may have been of the highest rank, is strongly supported by the aspect of the por-

traits discovered here; for, as we shall see, they represent several men of Semitic race, one apparently a high priest of Baal or the priest's son. And the discovery of portraits in a Jewish cemetery on a Semitic mummy case is not at all surprising when we remember how persistently the Hebrews of Alexandria strove to imitate the Greeks in every particular. In the Jewish catacombs which have been excavated in the Rondanini vineyard by the Via Appia at Rome there are numerous examples of sculpture in which human figures occur—hunters, children, and others.

This, however, means no more than that in the necropolis of Kerke a certain number of tombs belonging to Semitic families seem to have been found; the great majority of the other ruined sepulchres, which, according to Stadler's map, extend to some considerable distance eastward in the desert, seem to have been those of the Hellenistic inhabitants of the Fayum, without any distinction of race. By far the greater number show other than Semitic types, so we may sum up the facts in the statement that the necropolis of Rubaiyat was chiefly used by Hellenic Greeks, but, as it would seem, was also open to the higher rank of Semitic families in the province.

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#### THE TWO PRINCIPAL CLASSES OF PORTRAIT MUMMIES; THEIR APPEARANCE, ORIGIN, AND EPIGRAPHS.

The mummy portraits known before the discovery of Herr Graf's, of those found by Mr. Flinders Petrie, and of the examples in the Berlin Museum, are not to be mentioned in the same day.

The portrait mummies at Dresden, Bulak, Paris, and elsewhere are nearly allied to one group of the Rubaiyat mummies; for, associated with those which had a wooden panel attached to the wrapper over the face with the portrait of the dead, some were found there which, like those at Dresden and Bulak, had the portrait painted on the linen outer wrapper itself. In 1888 not a single body that had been deposited at Rubaiyat had been met with uninjured; all had been mutilated and plundered in ancient or modern times. Most of the wooden panels had been torn from the mummies and dragged out of the sand separately; now, on the contrary, besides those mentioned above, several mummies have been discovered also in the Fayum. Of these, many have been brought to England by Mr. Flinders Petrie, and a few, more lately disinterred, have come into the possession of Herr Graf, giving us an excellent idea of their appearance in an uninjured condition. Herr Graf has also forwarded to me two linen mummy wrappers from Rubaiyat resembling those at Dresden, Bulak, and Berlin. These are on the whole similar to the *papier-maché* mummy cases of the Pharaonic period, only the decoration which on those is in relief, on these is painted. A thick stratum of linen covers the upper side of the mummy like a lid, and over the face of the body a portrait of the deceased is painted in colors; the hands and feet are likewise represented in their proper place. The right hand of the male portrait mummy at Dresden holds a vase for libations; and the left, one of those garlands\* which we

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\* This, at any rate, is what seems to be intended. A picture from Pompeii suggests that it is a wreath of flowers rather than a woollen

also occasionally see in our portraits. In the portrait of a woman (Graf coll., No. 9) she, like the Dresden mummy, holds not indeed a vase, but a cup. The head of the Dresden male mummy seems to repose on a blue-tinted cloth, and the painter has placed by his side the red and gold fillets of the dead, which we shall see again in the portraits on panel. Besides these he has represented some of the flowers which were actually found on several mummies from Der-el-Bahri, so well preserved that Schweinfurth was able to identify the species. The dress of the portrait is also indicated in color, but only over the breast, where the hands lie, and just about the feet, on which are sandals. The body and legs are enveloped in a perfectly conventional rigid casing, diapered with richly gilt ornaments representing various well-known heathen Egyptian figures to which magic powers were ascribed, and which display the degraded, or rather derivative, forms which often characterize them in work of a late period.\*

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fillet. This is the charming picture with flowers and Loves, engraved by F. and F. Nicolini (*Le case e Monumenti di Pompeii, Pantheon Tav. iii, 3*); (See also Helbig, *Wandgemälde der Städte in Kampanien*, No. 799). Nicolini calls the long garlands of flowers to which we refer "*treccie di fiori*."

\* There are two mummies with painted faces, hands, and feet of precisely similar type in the Bulak Museum, Nos. 5613 and 5614; they are well represented in color in Gayet, *Monumentes Coptes*, Tab. A and B; *Mission Archéologique française au Caire*, Tom. iii, Paris, 1889; also at Berlin, Nos. 24 and 25, in which the portraits are painted on a linen wrapper covered with small gold ornaments. Professor A. Erman writes with reference to No. 25: "A young woman with handsome ornaments. The right hand holds a golden vessel; with the left she plays with her necklace, which she holds by one finger. Somewhat stiff, but very pleasing."

The Proceedings of the Dresden Museum, which I was enabled to consult by the kindness of the director, Herr Treu, inform us that the Dresden portrait mummies were not brought from Rubaiyat-Kerke, though, indeed, from the nome of Memphis; for Pietro della Valle took them, in 1645, "out of the *hypogæa* of Sakkarah." M. Gaston Maspero has obligingly informed me that those at Bulak are from the same locality. With them many more were found which crumbled to dust in the process of removal.

The portrait mummies of Achmim form a distinct class. The deceased are represented on the stucco cases which inclose them; the men dressed in the toga, with flowers or an olive branch on their head; the women in the tunic and peplos, and with leather shoes.

It is not known whence Nos. 24 and 25 in the Berlin Museum were brought; one of the London portraits, however, undoubtedly came from Memphis. With regard to those in the Louvre, it was supposed from a notice on them by Champollion that they were portraits of certain members of the family of Pollius Soter, an archon of Thebes, who lived in the time of Hadrian; but U. Wilcken has shown that these pictures do not belong to the six mummy cases, also preserved at Paris, in which some members of his illustrious family were undoubtedly buried, his name and theirs being well known to us by Greek inscriptions. Hence the portraits are by no means so certainly of the time of Hadrian as are the coffins, with which they have indeed absolutely no connection, and they can not therefore be taken for chronological data. The Berlin Museum, on the other hand, possesses two coffins at the bottom of which there is, in each, a full-length painted figure

of a little girl. These portraits represent two daughters of this same Soter, and consequently belong to the second century after Christ.

But the mummies were furnished with portrait panels far more often than with painted images. The reader as he recalls some mediæval tomb can doubtless remember that on its top or its cover a figure rested of a knight in armor or a prelate. If he imagines this as painted instead of carved, with the face only, or, not unfrequently, the hands too, carefully depicted, while the body is hidden from view by thick wrappings, he will understand what is meant by a mummy case. Indeed, this class of art is not altogether unknown to our time. For example, in the magnificent mausoleum of Charlottenburg the master hand of Rauch carved from the marble a royal couple resting as on a couch; and in the chapel of St. Katharine, in the Monastery of the Transfiguration at the foot of Sinai, there is a silver sarcophagus, a gift from the Czar of Russia, in which to preserve the relics of her bones, with the sleeping extended figure of the saint in marble on the lid. Such effigies of saints are often seen in Russia. In the portrait mummies of Rubaiyat we find, over the spot where we should seek the face of the dead, a wooden panel with the likeness of it.

The portrait (Graf coll., No. 1) and the mummy No. 94 (see page 25) show us how these pictures were attached. They were glued to the wrapper inclosing the body; to secure them against possible loss, a linen band was wound like a frame round and over the edges of the panel. This framing, too, was glued both to the wood and to the mummy. The Paris por-



PORTRAIT-MUMMY, COMPLETE.  
Graf coll. No. 94.

trait of the daughter of Dioscoros \* shows us how the pictures were surrounded with ornaments to harmonize with the rest of the decoration on the upper side of the mummy case.

And now, since these lines were written, the uninjured portrait mummies were discovered which allow of our describing them not with the aid of imagination but with the objects themselves before our eyes. One in the possession of Herr Graf (No. 94) is so skillfully swathed with crossed bands that they form squares, giving the outside of the mummy the effect of an old Roman coffered ceiling; the angles of the squares are again crossed by horizontal bands. The panel with the portrait is held in its place by strips of linen, but asphalt and other tenacious materials have been used to keep it from slipping from its place. Schweinfurth was present when Flinders-Petrie extracted some portrait mummies from the sand at Hawara, and on several of these the pictures were attached by actual frames instead of mere linen bandaging. These frames were made of a sort of *papier-mâché cartonnage*, thickly gilt; some were oval, some of an open horseshoe form.†

Among these again may be included the mummy,

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\* This portrait was very remarkably restored, for originally one half of it found its way to London and the other half to Paris.

† The portrait (No. 1 in the Berlin coll.) of a powerful-looking man of negro type, with no drapery or ornaments, is still attached to the mummy; so, too, is No. 3, a young man with a slight beard. We have already spoken of the group (Berlin, Nos. 7, 8, 9), consisting of the lady Alinei, her husband and children. The little girl and her father have gold masks instead of portraits. These were found in the necropolis of Hawara.

also discovered by Petrie, and presented by Mr. Jesse Howorth to the Peel Park Museum at Manchester. This mummy, which is quite uninjured, is incased in *cartonnage* still heavily gilt in many places, and over the face is a portrait of the dead perfectly corresponding to those in the Graf collection, representing a boy of fourteen or fifteen, with dark curling hair, thick black eyebrows, and full lips. It is surrounded by a picture frame, in the modern sense of the word, intended to conceal the junction of the picture with the mummy. On it an ornamental decoration of vine-leaves and grapes is beautifully executed and richly gilt. We shall return to a consideration of this and the other patterns on gilt *papier-maché* cases.

Many of these mummies were sent to the necropolis furnished with labels to prevent mistakes and confusion. Several of these wooden tickets are no doubt from Rubaiyat. Some others are in the collection of Archduke Rainer at Vienna, and twenty-five were published by Le Blant (*Rev. Archéologique*, nouv. sér. 28, 29). On these labels are preserved the names of many mummified Græco-Egyptians, while on the mummies themselves only transcribed words and texts have hitherto been found. We will presently consider the Semitic names on No. 7 in the Graf collection. We have already learned those on the tombstone extracted from the sand with the Berlin portrait No. 7. Another, in Greek, was found on the broken panel No. 95. On this, with a painting of a boy's neck and about a third of the face with the left eye, is the word **ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗ(Σ)** (*Ἀσκληπιαδης*), that is, Asklepiades, and beneath it **ΛΗ εἴψυχι**, = "eight years old, have courage!" The final *sigma* of the name is half broken,

but was no doubt complete. The portrait, though wearing a chain, is that of a boy. If the name were written Asklepiade it must be rendered as the vocative of Asklepiades.

Wilcken ascribes the writing to the second century A. D., and the inferior style of the picture would lead us to the same conclusion. On the Dresden mummy we read the same words as after the name Asklepiades on No. 95. It was merely a loving farewell greeting written by a survivor on the linen outer wrapper. From the analogy of many instances we can only read √ it as εὐψύχι = εὐψύχει. It was employed by the Greeks in Egypt exactly in the same sense as χαῖρε by other Greeks. "Be of good courage, bear thyself bravely." This is its cry to the departed heathen, and at a later period to the departed Christian. We have it again on the picture of the daughter of Dioscoros above mentioned. This portrait, at Paris, bears the inscription Διοσκόρου εὐψύχι = "Daughter of Dioscoros, have courage!" Thus, even in a foreign land, the Hellenic Egyptians preserved the familiar form *eupsychi* instead of eupsychei, as we may see from the inscription on the tomb of an Alexandrian buried at Mitylene.

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#### THE EXECUTION OF THE PICTURES, WHAT THEY REPRESENT, AND HOW THEY CAME TO BE ATTACHED TO MUMMIES.

The execution of these portraits is in every instance the same, though their artistic merit varies to an extraordinary degree. They are painted on wooden panels of various thickness. The thickest are for the

most part of sycamore wood, the thin of cypress. They have not been sawed, but hewed with a pick-formed axe, such as may be seen represented on the monuments, and in use to this day in Egypt. They are for the most part from thirty to forty centimetres high, and about eighteen centimetres wide (from twelve to fourteen inches by about seven). In many cases linen is stretched over the panel, and the picture painted on that.

The painting is sometimes executed in wax colors by an encaustic process, sometimes in tempera, and sometimes in a mixture of the two. Of encaustic and the methods of its use we knew but little until lately; in fact, two otherwise very sound investigators, Henry Cros and Charles Henri, had formed quite erroneous views as to this method of painting as practiced by the ancients, and their errors found wide acceptance. It was Donner von Richter, himself an esteemed artist, who first discovered the processes employed in encaustic painting, and even executed some pictures by them. We can but refer the reader to his capital treatise, which relieves us of the task of going into the question.\* The colors treated by this technique seem to have acquired great brilliancy, and the painting very great permanence, such as our oil colors possess in a much less degree, as we see from these pictures.

I have before me about ninety portraits. Most of them show only the head and bust, without the hands,

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\* Otto Donner von Richter: Ueber Technisches in der Malerei der Alten, ins besondere in deren Enkaustik. Praktische und chem.-tech. Mittheilungen für Malerei, etc. A. Klein, Munich, 1885, No. 10 ff. Also, by the same: Die enkaustische Malerei der Alten, Allgem. Zeitung, Beilage 1888, No. 180.

but these are also included in some instances. There is about an equal number of each sex, and most of the ages of human life are represented, bright-eyed and with strongly individualized features, old men, middle-aged men, lads and boys, girls, young women, and matrons. The greater number are in the prime of life; the oldest of the female heads is not more than fifty; of the men, not past sixty. Heydemann pointed out that the mummy labels published by Le Blant, on which the ages of the deceased are recorded, bear witness to the same fact, for half of all the buried persons mentioned on the labels died between the ages of twenty and forty. Was the mortality in the prime of life really so great in Egypt at that period, or have we a peculiar case to deal with, or were labels only attached to the mummies that had portraits? The circumstance is certainly startling when we reflect that death is usually busiest among those of the ages here most rarely represented. How often, and how suddenly, is the tender blossom plucked of infant life! how many aged men and women sink into the grave! and yet we here meet with only three old men, and look in vain for any portraits of young children and old women. As to infants, it may well be that they were regarded as unworthy of being painted and of the attendant expense; and the Greek feeling for beauty seems to have had a prejudice, though often an unjust one, against the presentment of the withered features of an old woman, while the artist was content to paint the expressive countenance of at least one elderly man. The same fact is observable in the portraits preserved at Paris, London, Berlin, and Bulak; they all represent men and women in youth or middle age. Among the Berlin pictures

only No. 12 represents an old face, and that the face of a woman.

The question now arises, What are we to think was the origin of the portraits, and their connection with the mummies?

Three alternatives suggest themselves: First, the painter may have used the corpse as a model and have endeavored to give it the semblance of life. Second, the Græco-Egyptians may have been accustomed to have their portraits taken in the prime of life, and the pictures, after long adorning the family living-room, were attached, frame and all, to the mummies after death. Third, the portrait may have been painted and hung up during life, and then a copy of it made to be consigned to the tomb. To the first hypothesis, as Wilcken pointed out, the chief objection is the "convincingly lifelike aspect" of the heads. The very expression of the eyes is full of individuality; the coloring is of unmistakable fidelity. The models from which these portraits were painted can not have been the faces of the dead!

It is indeed extremely probable that the houses of Egyptian Greeks should have been ornamented with portraits of members of the family; even under the Pharaohs the great personages of the realm had portrait statues executed during the lifetime of the model, to be subsequently placed in his tomb. Whether they ever had portraits taken for the purpose of house decoration we know not, for none have been preserved. Among the remains of mural paintings in Campania, on the other hand—which, as Helbig has shown, bear much resemblance to the Alexandrian work—there are several family portraits. In Pompeii they were painted

in fresco on the walls; and in Egypt they may have been executed in the same way; at the same time it is possible that portraits were preferred painted on wooden panels, and then inserted in the walls, or else framed, as we find them on some mummies, and hung up. There is ample evidence as to easel paintings by Alexandrian artists. They were an article of commerce, and Heydemann refers with much aptness to the *tabulae*, or picture tablets, of their master Epicurus, which Epicureans were wont to purchase (Cicero de fin. No. 1), and Christians of the Saviour and of the apostles Peter and Paul (Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., vii, 18).

It only remains to be decided whether a portrait already extant was copied for the tomb, or whether it was simply removed from its place in the home and attached to the mummy case. A circumstance which makes the latter alternative appear probable has been communicated to me by Herr Richter, the engineer—Herr Graf's friend and representative. It is, that on the back of certain of the portraits there is a layer of plaster some millimetres in thickness, on which patches remain of the asphaltum by which they were glued to the mummies. Others again have holes, looking as though they had been pierced by a nail.\* Is this plaster a portion of the wall of the room into which the picture had been inserted, and was the hole left by the peg by which it was fastened up? Were they deposited from their original purpose after the death of the per-

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\* An article on the Graf collection in the *Kölnische Zeitung* also expresses the view that the portraits had been taken down from the living-rooms.

son depicted, to deck the tomb instead of the home? An argument on this side is to be found in the small dimensions of No. 32, the likeness of a young girl, which is so diminutive that it can scarcely have been painted expressly to adorn a mummy. A picture executed for this purpose would more probably have corresponded with the real proportions of the body to which it belonged. This portrait, therefore, most likely fulfilled some other purpose before it was attached to the mummy.

Still, if No. 32 was actually reft from the wall of a room, we are met by the question, how the space in the wall was filled up when the picture was removed—plaster and all sometimes, as we have seen—and were the greater number of these paintings, which fit the mummies so well, executed in the first instance for the home, but with an ulterior view to their subsequent use? It is not a pleasant suggestion. Nor must we forget the portraits at Pompeii painted on the wall of the *tablinum*. Why assume such discrepancy in the case, when in other respects there is so much agreement? Still, it is hard to believe that the worst of these pictures were executed for the adornment of a room. The panel, again, which is painted on both sides, is a picture which could not in any case have been taken from a wall. And the same is true of No. 7, with the Aramaic names, etc., on the back.

I am more inclined to believe that the Hellenic Egyptians were wont to be painted in the prime of life, to place the picture in the family living-room, and then, after the death of the person represented, an artist was commissioned to copy it for the mummy. Thus, when a woman died at an advanced age the por-

trait placed with the body showed her in her bloom ; as we often see the memoirs of a lady of importance who may have lived to a great age illustrated by a picture of her in her youth. Only the wealthy would have employed the best artists for such work. It seems to me that many things are thus accounted for, and especially the style of execution of the less good portraits in the Graf collection. At the same time this does not exclude the possibility that under certain circumstances a portrait may have been removed for the purpose from the wall of a room. Indeed, it seems probable in the case of No. 32, and of some others. Three of the coarsest workmanship are perhaps not portraits at all, but, as Wilcken indeed surmised, turned out from a factory of such paintings. They remind us of the pictures of a soldier—any soldier, in the uniform of a certain regiment—which our gallant warriors were wont to send home as portraits of themselves before photography became universal. Even in the time of the Pharaohs manufactured articles all of a pattern must have been employed, when the lack of means prohibited the expense of a portrait statue or of a portion of the Book of the Dead expressly written out for the deceased.

Most of the persons represented seemed to have belonged to the upper—nay, to the highest—class ; for many of the men wear aristocratic vestments, with laurel wreaths or gold fillets on the head ; the women, for the most part, have ornaments, and in some cases goldsmith's work, sometimes of great value.

We know, with regard to the before-named Berlin examples, that they belonged to the members of an archon's family who were certainly highly respected

in their native circle; still I can not make up my mind to agree with H. Henry in regarding the bracelike band which is worn across the shoulder and breast in some of the portraits (in the Graf and Paris collections and elsewhere) as the *Iaticlavus*—that is, a purple stripe which was worn on the robe by senators, and in imperial times by the sons of old patrician families and military tribunes of the rank of knights. The position held by so many of these provincial Egyptians can not have been high enough for this, and several of the female portraits show similar bands, which, indeed, are but seldom purple, and never represented as a border or hem. They must probably be intended for some peculiar form of mummy band, as may best be seen in Nos. 53 and 66, where the old man and youth wear plain sack-shaped shrouds, and these bands hang over each shoulder and over the breast exactly like loose braces. They are also to be seen in the fine portrait of a boy, No. 47.\*

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THE ETHNICAL TYPE OF MOST OF THE PORTRAITS,  
AND A GLANCE AT THE GREEK COLONY OF ARSINOË,  
WHENCE SO MANY HAVE BEEN BROUGHT.

If we now consider the whole of these pictures as a class, we do not find many which can be referred to the ethnological type that is known to us as essen-

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\* Red bands similar to these were not unknown to the fashion of the time. In the amphitheater at Pompeii, for example (Niccolini, *Le case e i monumenti de Pompeji, Anfiteatro, Tab. III*), we see that the official who is superintending the athletic games, as well as

tially Egyptian, from the monuments, from the descriptions of Greek writers, and from the modern Coptic physiognomy; still, in several of them we see the dark complexion which the Greeks and Romans ascribe to the Egyptians, and which we should not look for in people of Hellenic origin. But the sun of the south quickly tans the fair European skin, and Hellenic Greeks whose families remained in Egypt for several generations would not be likely to preserve their original fair hue. Certainly most of the pictures show us truly Greek features; and this is the case in many of rather dark complexion.

Besides these, however, there are a number of both male and female portraits which display neither the Egyptian nor the Greek type of features, but seem very decidedly Semitic; nor need this surprise us, when we remember how favorable a position the Hellenic Jews held in Alexandria. These are numbers 4-7, 11, 12, 20, 44, 49 of the Graf collection, No. 2 at Berlin, and others; and mention has been made of the internal distribution of their tombs in the necropolis of Kerke, and of the Semitic names on the back of No. 7. Interesting, too, are No. 64 of the Graf collection, and No. 1 at Berlin, representing men of Ethiopian blood. The woolly hair, thin mustache, and very realistic but most artistically treated prognathous facial angle, would lead us to regard No. 64 as a Bantoo negro, but the subject appears in fact to have been a half-breed, and to owe his clear brown skin,

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children of good family (ib., Casa del Centenario, Tav. xii, fasc. lxxviii), wear under-garments edged with red. The *Prætexta* was worn as an upper garment by children of rank; but these at Pompeii wear a shirt-shaped tunic that looks like those in our pictures.

thick whiskers, lips by no means thick, and expressive eyes to a father or mother of a nobler race. He had, too, attained to some position in the world; his woolly curls are bound with a golden fillet, and he was able to have his likeness painted by an artist really worthy of the proud name.

If these pictures had been laid before us without any information as to their place of origin, without the mummy labels and the fragments of bandages which still cling, for instance, to No. 1, and if we had been asked to what period and what community of the ancients they may have belonged, I, for one, should have been compelled to reply—and correctly—by a confident statement and no mere guess, that they were the work of Hellenic Egyptians, and certainly of the heathen period. I should have opined that they had been found at Alexandria, or on the site of some other Greek colony occupied by a Hellenic population with an infusion of Asiatic elements; for in all the ancient world there was no other place or community where Egyptian, Greek, and Semitic elements—nay, and sometimes Ethiopian—could have agreed so readily to the same character of entombment; and, moreover, nowhere but in Alexandria would the painter's art have dealt with its subjects in a manner so realistic, and so foreign to the ideal treatment of the earlier Hellenic art. There only, I should have pronounced, could any works so admirable in this particular style have been produced as Nos. 2, 8, 21, 28, 45, 47, 61, 63, and 66 of the Graf collection, or even as the Matron, No. 42.

Other Hellenic colonies, as Tarsus, in the time of the Diadoches, produced work of striking realistic

power, some of which may be seen in the Louvre and some in the British Museum. But in these, which are sculpture, we do not find such a variety of ethnic types as in these Græco-Egyptian portraits. Still, I should have been right, on the whole; I should only have limited the area too closely; for Alexandria we must say Hellenized Egypt.

It would never have occurred to any one to think of a small provincial town like Kerke as the site of the discovery, for many of the portraits are treated in a way which would lead us to infer that they had come from a studio in Alexander's center of commerce, learning, and art. The best of them are good enough for this, and worthy of its best artists, but we learn from them that the upper class of citizens in a provincial Greek colony had high requirements in artistic matters. As we have seen, on page 23, the necropolis at Kerke was probably also used by the inhabitants of the "Lake Land," as the ancient Egyptians called the Fayum, for the deposition of their dead; and the citizens of its chief town (Crocodilopolis, as it was called under the Pharaohs, Arsinoë under the Ptolemies) were a community devoted to Greek culture, who endeavored to keep not too far below the standard of Alexandria. The mass of papyrus fragments found among the ruins of their dwellings have led, as has been said, to their resurrection. We know from the lists of taxes, etc., the names of their streets, of their public buildings, and even of most of the inhabitants. We know how eagerly they studied the Greek philosophers and poets; that they had a theater, a gymnasium, a Helleneion, etc.; and we learn that the citizens of Arsinoë, in order to give an im-

perial prefect a worthy reception, commanded the attendance of a *rhetor*, probably from Alexandria. So it is certainly no preposterous hypothesis to suppose that a wealthy Arsinoite, wishing to have his own portrait or his wife's or child's painted for the family living-room, should have sent for an artist to come for the purpose from Alexandria. The copy for the mummy may then have been made by a native artist, for the services of a great painter brought to the provincial town were no doubt a costly luxury. We know that under the Ptolemies, and probably at a later period, the works of the greatest artists were weighed against gold. Ptolemy I Soter, for instance, is said to have offered Nikias sixty talents for his Nekya—that is, about seventy thousand dollars; while Pamphilos received from each of his pupils a yearly fee of a talent, or about eleven hundred and eighty dollars.\* And these payments must have borne some relation to the quality of the work.

With the exception of the "Muse," so called, in the Accademia of Cortona, which is painted on slate, no easel pictures had hitherto been known to us, which, with the mural painting and figures on vases, were quite equal to the high idea we had formed of the powers of the Greek painters; but the discovery of these portraits has altered the case at one stroke; for if a quantity of pictures of such high merit could be produced in a provincial town of no great size, although the best and most expensive Alexandrian painters may have been engaged to execute the origi-

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\* The Egyptian talent was less than the Attic. If the Attic talents are meant the sums are incredibly high.

nals for family use, there must certainly have been pictures in the capital itself beyond our imagining.

The opinion expressed above, that mummies may perhaps have been sent to Kerke from Alexandria, must, I think, be withdrawn. On the other hand, it is quite certain that other towns of the "Lake Land" sent their dead thither; and we know that even in Hellenic Egypt it was the custom to have the embalmed remains of the beloved dead conveyed for burial to favorite cities of the dead. The well-known papyrus in Paris of a letter from Senpamonthes, is proof of how long this practice survived in Egypt, for it is written to his brother Pamonthes, to be sent to him with the mummy of their mother. He informs him that the writer has paid the whole cost of the transport, and also tells him by what marks he may identify the body or mummy (ταφή, as on the wooden labels from Rubaiyat), these being red mummy bands (Sindon), and their mother's name, Senyris, inscribed on the case.

It is by no means impossible that certain persons who had resided in the Fayum, and who died in Alexandria, or even out of Egypt, were sent back as mummies to their native spot to be laid in the family tomb. That the members of Semitic families more especially • clung to the idea of having their mortal remains "gathered to their fathers," and commanded that they should be sent home, we know; and not only from the carrying of Jacob to be buried in Canaan (Gen. l, 5), but from inscriptions remaining from the period under consideration, and as we have seen among the persons buried at Kerke, some seem to have been of Hebrew origin. And the letter of Senpamonthes, just

referred to, shows that even under the Roman rule Egyptian mummies made long journeys, for he tells his brother that the mummy of their mother, with all the necessary adornments and ready for the tomb, was to travel by ship, "carriage paid," if I may so express it.

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#### THE DATE OF THESE PORTRAITS.

*That they were all painted for heathen mummies.*

Now with regard to the date at which these portraits were painted, it can only be sought at a time subsequent to the complete fusion of Hellenic with Egyptian life. At an early period after the founding of Alexandria the amalgamation of the various ethnological elements was not sufficiently complete for heathen Greeks and Hebrews to accept the funereal customs of Egypt, or for Egyptians to set aside the conventional art of their nation and allow their corpses to be graced by Greek artists.

If, therefore, we seek the earliest term—the earliest date, that is to say—when these portraits can have been painted, we must first examine the fundamental question as to whether the pictures discovered in the Fayum had their origin in heathen or Christian times.

They all, beyond any possible doubt are portraits of heathens.

The mummy of a boy, found by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Hawara (now in the Peel Park Museum, Manchester), is of itself enough to settle this point, for the figures on the gilt case which incloses it are those of the principal gods concerned in the Egyptian service of

the dead—Isis and Nephthys and the jackal-headed Anubis—regarded by the Hellenes as corresponding to their Hermes Psychopompos, the guide of the soul after death. There are other figures of the Egyptian Pantheon on this mummy, as well as on another case, likewise gilt, which was found, partly in very good preservation but bereft of its inmate, in the sand of the necropolis at Kerke.

The painted mummy cloths, Greek in style, of which several are preserved in the Berlin Museum, also belong to the same group of works, and at least one of these was brought from the necropolis at Hawara. The mummies they enveloped had not any portrait attached; the image of the dead was painted on the cerement. It was usually executed of life-size, and the figure was shown in Greek costume. And that these paintings were done at a heathen period is clear from the fact that on every known mummy cloth of this kind the image is guarded by Osiris and Anubis, the gods of the dead.

Among the many evidences of the heathen origin of all these paintings, I will here only mention the picture of bound prisoners detected by the lamented Egyptologist Miss Amelia Edwards at the foot end of a mummy case which contained a portrait mummy. Such images are frequently seen on the sole of the shoes with which the early heathen mummies were shod. They refer to the prayer, repeated again and again in the Book of the Dead and other religious writings of the Pharaonic period, expressing the hope of the deceased that he may be lord over his foes and trample them under his feet. This was what Horus had done in his fight for his father Osiris. The career

of the triumphant dead culminated in apotheosis—that is, the absorption into the god or Osiris—and thus he went his way with his foe under his feet. Finally, I must here mention an ornament found by Herr Richter on the small portrait mummy No. 94. It consists of a series of disks surrounding the lower portion of the mummy, and at some little distance apart. Each disk is about three centimetres in diameter (one inch and three sixteenths), and from the center, marked by a small circle, radiating lines divide it into twelve equal parts. They are colored red, like the sun on monuments of the Pharaohs, and precisely resemble it; whereas on early Christian monuments they would have no meaning, and in fact never occur.

Indeed, the mere fact of attaching a portrait to a mummy is an idea quite akin to the heathen Egyptian beliefs. It was no part of their religion to contemplate the decay of the body after death. Embalming would preserve the perishable remains, while the immortal spirit—the soul—Ba, would depart in the sun bark and be carried to the gates of the other world, in the west beyond Abydos. If it should then be its fortune to become Osiris—that is, to be absorbed into the divinity—it still would not altogether lose its identity. It might yet be able to return visibly to those it had quitted, in the form it had worn on earth; and it was especially to this end that the body was preserved as a mummy, and even in early times a statue placed in the tomb or a portrait attached to the coffin. This presentment of the deceased the Ka—that is to say, his spiritual double, the genius that wore his form—was supposed to inhabit, that the features might not perish by which in life he had been distinguished from other mortals.

When his posterity visited the tomb they addressed their appeals and offerings not to the departed nor to his image, but to the Ka which dwelt within the image, as a hand is covered with a glove. As early as under the first empire there was in each sepulchre of a man of rank a special chamber (serdab) for the statue to which incense was burned and offerings made; this was called the "house of the Ka." During life the Ka was one with the human being; after death it abandoned him, like the soul (Ba) the shadow (srit), the spirit the feelings (áb), and the shining element Chu, which is hard to define; then it went to dwell in the picture or in the statue, which, on the other hand, helped it to preserve the true form, thus representing the inner and outer individuality of the deceased. But the Ka could free itself from the statue or from the portrait attached to the mummy which perpetuated the personal characteristics of the dead, and then the soul used it as a medium when it desired to visit the earth. If the Ka were lost, the immortal part of the deceased lost its individuality, and that power of earthly apparition which was indispensable to enable him to dwell in the semblance he had borne on earth in the memory of his posterity, to whom he looked for the pious service of making the offerings due to the dead. Hence an image of some kind was a necessary part of a completely fitted heathen Egyptian tomb. Though in early times this was supplied by means of sculpture, at a later period, when painting cast sculpture into the shade, and men were less inclined to make great sacrifices for such matters of dogma; when, too, great painters could produce such striking likenesses, they were intrusted with the task of making portraits for the habitation of the Ka.

The Hellenic Egyptians, and yet more the Greeks and Israelites, would scarcely remember what religious motive had first required the making of an image, and in attaching the picture to the mummy only followed a fashion which was pleasing and attractive as a means and token of remembrance. It made its way from the Fayum as far as to the oases in the Libyan Desert; and as good painters were scarce there, no doubt, while men who understood stone carving must have found constant employment in repairing the temples, the mummy was there provided with a bust instead of a picture. About forty of these busts were recently dug up in the great oasis. Several are deposited in the Louvre; two are in the Graf collection. They are made of a composition (natural or artificial), at present undergoing analysis,\* and were attached to the top of the mummies as it were on the top of a sack. The holes for the strings by which they were tied in their place are to be seen in No. 97 (Fig. 2). Notwithstanding their plastic form they belong to the same category as the portraits under consideration, for they are a highly realistic presentment of the features of the dead to whose mummy they were attached. They are faintly colored, and the character of the modeling is very much akin to that of the painters who executed several of the later and inferior portraits in the Graf collection. Maspero, who wrote about them (*La Nature*,

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\* Professor Gooth, of Munich, gives as the result of his analysis : A mixture of sand consisting of minute grains of quartz, clay—no doubt kaolin—gypsum, and a very small portion of lime carbonate. It is either a sedimentary clay with an artificial admixture of sand, or a natural form of impure gypsum unusually rich in clay, from a stratum in the soil of the oasis.

1892, p. 305 ff), assigned them to the end of the second or beginning of the third century after Christ; and M. de Villefosse pointed out with some reason the re-



IMAGE FROM A MUMMY FROM THE GREAT OASIS.

semblance of one of them to Pescennius Niger, the pseudo-Cæsar who opposed Septimius Severus. I agree with Maspero as to the period of their origin.

Although these busts are among the latest forms

of image attached to mummies, they have eyes inserted made of talc, just as may be seen in the earliest statues of the time of the pyramids. These give them, I may say, an intrusively living expression—barbaric, indeed, to the taste of the Greeks and Romans. The beard, too, applied to the finished head is anti-Greek; and a little scene represented on the back both of No. 97 Graf collection (Fig. 2) and of one presented to the Louvre by M. Bouriant, decisively marks these busts as Egyptian and as heathen. It shows the mummied corpse lying down, with a female figure kneeling at the head and feet. This is the familiar scene, occurring a thousand times in the Book of the Dead and elsewhere, of Isis and Nephthys—the Greater and the Lesser—uplifting their voices as wailing women by the bier of Osiris, their husband and brother, to express their anguish and call him back to earth. The text of their lament is best preserved on a papyrus at Berlin of the time of the Persian dominion. On these busts the wailing goddesses are represented in the old Egyptian style, but in a manner which betrays little concern for the old canon; and the hieroglyphics over the heads of the figures, which are always to be seen in genuine Egyptian work, are here absent. As a work of art this little picture is worthless, but it proves that the busts on which it occurs were wrought by heathen for heathen, who, as has been said, may have lived at the end of the second century after Christ, and were magnates among the residents in the oasis.

In these busts again the physiognomy shows that they belonged to various nationalities, for one is of the Greek type, another Roman, and a third Semitic; a fourth might be classed as a half-breed in whose

veins flowed a mixture of Egyptian and Roman blood. Nor need this surprise us when we remember that the oases, colonized from Egypt at a very early date, and conquered and exploited by the Persians,\* became Hellenic under the Ptolemies, and were protected and fortified by the Romans as commercial stations and used as places of exile for political offenders. They were, too, headquarters of the caravan trade, in which the Phœnicians early took a prominent part, and we might therefore expect to find them peopled by a variety of mixed races.

Their beautiful temples continued to be devoted to the old Egyptian cult till Christianity usurped its place. Hellenic influence had already infused into it a strong Greek element, and the spirit of the times had introduced magic and mysticism of every kind. These circumstances fully account for the character of the busts recently dug out of the soil. To us their great interest lies in the proof they afford that the desire to decorate the body of the dead with some image of the living was generally prevalent in the Græco-Egyptian communities. They also demonstrate that those whose care it was to fulfill that desire, and who were entombed in the form of portrait mummies, were heathen; at any rate, such as had been the subjects of the later Lagides or who had lived in Romanized Egypt and the oases of the Libyan Desert.

Hence, as it is amply proved that so considerable a number of portrait mummies were undoubtedly ex-

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\* The principal temple in the Great Oasis—Chargeh, or in old Egyptian Heb—was founded by the Persian King Darius I, and restored for the first time by Darius II.

ecuted by and for idolaters, the theory that any Christian would ever have allowed a corpse to be thus prepared is entirely excluded.

Two portrait mummies at Bulak, which I formerly regarded as Christian, I now agree with A. Ermann in pronouncing to be heathen.

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THE SECOND CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST CONSIDERED  
AS THE PERIOD OF THE PORTRAIT MUMMIES.

*Proved by reference to records of the earliest Greek mummies, by the history of art, and by circumstantial evidence from the pictures themselves, especially No. 7 (Graf collection).*

If, then, these portraits are of heathen workmanship, the question now arises as to the century in which Hellenic Greeks first adopted the practice of having their dead prepared for the tomb in the form of mummies.

This must have been at a period when, as we may conclude from other circumstances and evidence, the amalgamation of Hellenes and Greeks had so far advanced that Hellenic culture could accommodate itself to Egyptian customs. It might be safe to assume this to have been in the third century before Christ; it is at any rate quite certain to have been in the second. We must in the first instance confine our attention to the portrait mummies; and it is of great importance to the determination of the earliest date when they can have been painted to note that undoubted records exist of Greek corpses having been prepared as

mummies in the second century before Christ. Prof. U. Wilcken, of Breslau, has published documents of that period which prove the fact to a demonstration.\*

As it can thus be shown beyond dispute that so far back as in the second century before Christ many Greeks were entombed in the Egyptian manner and embalmed by Egyptian *paraschites* (eviscerators), not alone in Alexandria but even in Upper Egypt, at Thebes and in small towns (Turin papyrus No. 8), we may very well suppose that the oldest of these portraits dates from the same period. Some of the finest are of such workmanship that we may ascribe them to the time of the Ptolemies, when the full flower of Alexandrian art was but just beginning slowly to fade, rather than to the date of the decadence under Roman rule after the Christian era. A glance at the history of art confirms the probability of the date assigned to the oldest of the portraits, namely, the second century before Christ.

Greek mummies such as are found in the Fayum can hardly have been made under the three first Ptolemies (B. C. 323 to 222), for it was not till the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (+247 B. C.) that the worship of Serapis was generally recognized as a cult destined to reconcile the religious prejudices of the Greeks and Egyptians, or that the Jewish community at Alexandria had accommodated itself to Greek habits and views. It may well be supposed that a Hellenized and free-thinking Israelite of that time, speaking Greek, studying Greek philosophy, named after some

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\* Jahrbuch des K. deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Band iv, 1889, pt. i, p. 5.

Greek god—Apollodoros or Hermaios—and appreciating Greek works of art, might collect them or place them in his house; knowing, also, that even in his native land of Palestine the dead were wrapped in linen and entombed in rock caves, he might be ready and willing to have the body of the dead he had loved treated after the Hellenic-Egyptian manner, and decorated with an image, however severely such a practice might be reprobated by his stricter fellow Jews.

It is, indeed, more difficult to conceive of this as applying to colonists of pure Greek origin. The fusion must have been complete, indeed, before they could accept such a thoroughly Egyptian tradition. In fact, we meet with no mention of any Hellenic mummy of the third century before Christ. But in the second they were frequent. Under Euergetes II Physkon (+ 117) Egypt was closely allied with Cyprus; and when we hear of two stone sarcophagi found in that island, of good Greek workmanship, in the mummy form with faces treated as portraits (Cesnola, Descriptive Atlas V, xci, 589 and 590), we have a right to suppose that the custom of making portrait mummies had been introduced there. If the inscription, now erased, on Cesnola's No. 589 was indeed Phœnician, the portrait mummies found there would have been those of Semitic settlers.

It has already been said that there is a name in Semitic character on the back of No. 7 (Graf collection). Renan and other *savants* first examined it at the Paris exhibition; but the first to decipher it was Prof. Euting, of Strassburg, who is exceptionally skilled in the ancient Semitic character. In 1891 he specially devoted himself to interpreting the six let-

ters written in black on the back of No. 7, and deciphered them as the name Ba'al 'adâr, i. e., Ba'al helps or Ba'al commands.


  
Ba'al 'adâr.

The character points to a period from 450 to 300 B. C. Besides this name some figures are drawn, also in black, which would seem to be of the same date as the writing. How, then, did this name come to be on the picture? We shall return to this question, and a consideration of the accompanying figures on the back of the panel, after a further examination of the portrait itself.

The youth whose likeness is painted on the front of the panel wears a peculiar lock of hair, such as we see again in several of the pictures, and this led me to an observation of great importance for determining the date—which, indeed, raised much opposition, but which I must, on the whole, adhere to. Even Wilcken, who can not accept my conclusions, regards it “as extremely remarkable” that this side lock may no doubt be identical with the side lock familiar to every student of the monuments as the invariable decoration of princes. But he does not admit that it implies that the youth of No. 7 was of royal blood, “since on the monuments this lock is worn even by the children of ordinary mortals.” This is true. But when the lock is worn by a grown man it is without

exception an indication of connection with the royal family, or of divine origin, and a close examination of all the monuments confirms the fact. Ermann's remark that "the sons of kings wore the distinctive lock of infancy all their life through" is absolutely correct. But none but personages connected with the royal family wore it beyond childhood and during manhood. How little Heydemann had mastered the subject, is proved by the fact that the very instances he adduces in evidence of the statement that even the children of ordinary mortals wore the lock, all represent princes or youthful deities.

It has been asserted that this mark of high descent lost its original form under the new empire, and from a plait of hair had degenerated into a broad ribbon, commonly with a fringe. This ribbon is no doubt to be seen on several princes of the later empire, on the son of Rameses III, for example; but it is so broad and stiff that it would seem to have incased the lock or to have been regarded as a substitute for it. In war, when it was difficult to keep the lock smoothly plaited, kings' sons commonly wear this band or case. And they sometimes wear it in solemn processions, perhaps because they were required to appear, even though unarmed, in a guise suggestive of the war in which they had taken part. But that the princes plaited this lock with care, even under the later kingdom, may be seen in the youthful portrait of Rameses II in the Louvre (a bas-relief in limestone; see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, Tab. I, p. 706). Every strand of the plait is visible, as well as the little tie which fastens it at the end, as in our No. 7 portrait. A diadem crowns the prince's brow, temples, and head,

and from it two bands, wider at the bottom, hang down his back. I am of the opinion that if these were pushed forward at the sides they would cover the plaits, and be mistaken for the bands or cases which are erroneously supposed to have taken the place of the locks. These can be seen in pictures all through the new kingdom, to the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans. They were originally an attribute of the infant Horus; and it is, as has been said, perfectly true that they were worn by other children than those of the Pharaohs; but where they are seen on the figure of a grown-up man it represents without exception a god or a member of the royal household. This I take to be an axiom proof against all contention.

The persons represented in Nos. 7 and 60, and who wear this lock, are certainly portraits of grown-up\* persons.

It is true that, with the express purpose of proving that the portraits in the Graf collection are of the Roman period, an attempt has been made to show that No. 60 represents a lad of fifteen; but I think that every unprejudiced judge would agree with me that he was about twenty years of age. Most of the friends and acquaintances whose opinion I have asked have thought he might be from nineteen to thirty years old. I must therefore persist in maintaining that the young man represented in No. 7 was closely connected with the Lagides.

Still, it can not but surprise us to find a Ptolemaic

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\* Including as grown-up a youth, or *Ephebos*. Where the lock is seen on the offspring of an ordinary mortal it is always on a child of tender years.

prince buried in the "Lake Land." It makes it needful that we should in the first place examine more closely the connections and customs of the Lagides' court, and we shall then find that the peculiarities of No. 7 admit of an explanation which deprives the interment of the youth in the provincial necropolis of its singularity.

Foremost of those who enjoyed personal intimacy with the Ptolemies were the *συγγενεῖς*, or "relations of the king," a name given to the holders of certain high offices and dignitaries. They were addressed in letters from the king himself as "father" or "brother," according to their age and rank. Their honors seem to have been hereditary, and to have descended to their children, with the intention, doubtless, of constituting a trusted class of nobles to be about the king's person. We may pass over the titles of other dignitaries at court to dwell on that of the younger satellites of the Lagides, among whom we often meet with the *βασιλικοὶ παῖδες*, or royal children, forming a corps of cadets or pages brought up at court. Whether those sons of distinguished priests who were selected to attend on Pharaoh, according to Diodoros (I, 70), for their superior education—and they must have been more than twenty years of age—whether these correspond to the *παῖδες* is doubtful; and indeed it seems rash to accept Diodoros word for word, especially in this chapter, where he seems to be expressly giving a highly colored picture of a prince after his own heart. And as he wrote after the fall of the Lagides he had nothing to fear from criticism as to details. That young men of rank certainly surrounded the king and attended him is at any rate an established fact. Thus, besides the

παῖδες we find μέλλakes (youths) of the king at the court of the Lagides. These, indeed, bore arms and formed a sort of youthful body guard, or rather *garde noble*; they were recruited from among the sons of the "king's relations" and other men of high rank.

Now the παῖδες and μέλλakes, or children and youths of the king, may very likely have been allowed to wear the plaited lock as an external mark of their nearness to the sovereign. It may have been the recognized mark of the male progeny of the συγγενεῖς, or king's relations, till the wearer had arrived at man's estate and inherited the dignity borne by his father, who was usually high in office. Diodoros, as we have seen, tells us that the pages in attendance on the sovereign were sons of noble priests; and this must have been the case, because the high offices of state were commonly filled by priests, and they sometimes even had the command of the army or the fleet; and even if these noble young attendants on the king received a military training they might nevertheless be regarded as pages in the prince's personal train. If the μέλλakes, or youth, were no more than a body guard, as sons of the "king's relations" they were members of the royal house who were allowed, or required, to wear the lock. We may with good reason assume that the youths wearing the lock depicted in these portraits correspond to those of whom Diodoros speaks as being educated at the court and sons of the highest magnates of the land; but the Sicilian writer may have ascribed to them this high culture and an age above twenty to make their improving influence over the sovereign who enjoyed their intimacy seem more probable. Such a one as Physkon, however, sought

mental ~~p~~obulum in very different circles from that of the youths who attended him.

Our hypothesis gains support from the circumstance that No. 7, at any rate, must, as we shall see, have belonged to a very noble house; that we never meet with the lock—which occurs in five portraits—in the picture of a man of advanced age, and that among the “relations” of the king we find not only Macedonians, but provincial Egyptians, as Phommutis from the Thebaid, Paniskos of the district of Panopolis, and others.

The admiral and high priest governing the island of Cyprus always bears the title of “relative of the king”; so do the Greek high priest and prophet of Philæ, the sacred island of Isis, in the extreme south of Egypt, beyond the first cataract.\* And certainly a magnate of the district of Arsinoë might quite as well belong to the king's relations as one of Latopolis or Tentyra, and his son to the king's youths. If he, therefore, wore the lock and died young his mummy portrait would of course show it. Whether he died at home, at Alexandria, or anywhere else, indeed, his body would be conveyed to the family tomb for interment.

This explanation seems to me the true one. In any case it is hard to believe that youths of rank were permitted in Roman times to wear a mark of distinction which in so rebellious a province would have been a constant reminder of the dethroned dynasty. It might be tolerated in children, as on them it could

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\* Lumbroso, *L'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, Turin, 1870.

have no political significance; but on a young man of twenty it would have been different.

If we look more closely at No. 7 and No. 60 we see that the men represented are beardless, like most members of the family of the Lagides and the youths generally of the Ptolemaic period, although their age would have allowed of their encouraging the growth of hair on the upper lip, cheeks, and chin. If their father was a "relation of the king" and native to the province, we need feel no surprise at finding their mummies in a necropolis used, as we shall see, by the inhabitants of Arsinoë.

A further examination of No. 7 also shows that the young man of about twenty whom it represents was a member of a family whose head may very well have belonged to the "relations of the king." It is not rash to regard him even as one of the corps of royal pages. He must, in any case, have been illustrious beyond the other youths of his age, who are all depicted in very simple garb, for he is quite splendidly attired. The rich fillet of gold round his head is usually worn only by men of riper years, or by women. The boy No. 27 has only a golden network in his hair, though he, too, seems to be of a noble family. It is only in No. 7 that we find a purple ribbon plaited with gold, and falling from the head to the breast, with a round object firmly twined into the center, or slipped on to it. What this round object, ornamented on the surface with a small design in gold, is meant to represent can not be determined. This much alone is certain, that it hangs by the ribbon half way down the breast.

If we examine other Egyptian monuments for a

similar adornment we meet with it only in one instance, though we have scarcely overlooked a single image; and that is on the very remarkable torso and head of a statue in the Bulak Museum \* which was found among the ruins of Crocodilopolis (Arsinoë), whose citizens apparently buried their dead in the same cemetery whence was obtained our No. 7. This fragment of a statue, which wears the same ornament as the portrait, belongs to a group of monuments of which Mariette excavated the best examples at Tanis, and which he pronounced to be monuments of the period of the Hyksos, whose capital was at Tanis. Naville discovered others of the same time at Bubastis, in the Delta. The features, mode of hair dressing, and other details differ greatly from those of purely Egyptian statues, and the altars hung with fish, which are also offered on them, while men of this type stand behind them, are not usual by the Nile. They are commonly supposed to be Hyksos kings or priests offering sacrifice; but they have also been called river gods. As regards the fragmentary statue discovered at Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë I accept the former explanation; the person represented is certainly not of Egyptian origin. The question as to what tribe of the Hyksos he may have belonged to can not here be fully discussed; it need only be said that the invaders who conquered the country at the end of the third thousand years before Christ were undoubtedly Asiatics, and that their worship of Ba'al became fused with the Egyptian cult of Set. This

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\* Mariette, *Notice des principaux monuments etc. du Musée a Bulak, Alexandrie*, 1868, p 58, No. 2. A good representation of it may be most readily seen in Perrot et Chipiez's *Histoire de l'Art*, Paris 1882, tome i, p. 686, Fig. 467.

divinity must have been recognized wherever the Hyksos ruled, and consequently in the Fayum. The men standing behind the altar must therefore be priests of Ba'al, and the injured statue found at Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë represents a personage who was of the same nationality as they. I should regard him as a high priest rather than as a king; he wears the panther skin over his shoulders, as head of the Egyptian hierarchy. The head and claws remain visible. A fish altar probably stood in front of the figure and it may here be observed that the worshipers of Ba'al—particularly the Arameans—held most fish sacred, and both preserved and sacrificed them in honor of their god, whereas the Egyptians regarded fish, with few exceptions, as unclean. To the votaries of Ba'al they figured the mysterious power of nature working in unseen depths, as Edward Meyer strikingly points out.

It is on the breast of the Hyksos prince or priest of Ba'al from Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë that we find an ornament answering exactly to the ribbon hanging from the neck of No. 7, and on it, in the middle, we see identically the same round object.

From the fact that the Crocodile province was regarded as unholy, as well as from various other circumstances, we may conclude that the worship of Ba'al still existed in the capital of the Fayum; and that the young man represented on No. 7 is one of the class of high priests of Ba'al at Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë is probable. The idea is confirmed by the inscription on the back of the panel, which, as we have seen, reads: *Ba'al 'adâr*, meaning Ba'al helps or Ba'al commands. Since the Aramaic letters forming the words must have been written, at the earliest, about three hundred years be-

fore Christ, they may have existed on the panel before the picture was painted, and a panel so inscribed might very easily have been preserved from an early period in the house of Ba'al's high priest, since the dignity seems to have been hereditary. The son of so important an official would naturally be in the corps of royal attendants, for his father, like other high priests, would be accounted one of the king's "relations," and he himself in riper age would come to be numbered among them. No. 7 depicts him, still wearing the lock, at the age of eighteen to twenty.

The panel bearing the name Ba'al 'adār might, however, have been brought to Egypt long previously, in the course of traffic with some Asiatic country. Aramaic was already the language of commerce, and of all documents among the Semitic races even in the last centuries before Christ and the early years of the Christian era, and Alexandria, by her extensive trade, was closely connected with Asia Minor. Our panel may have been part of a chest or case of precious merchandise; though very possibly tablets of cypress wood were imported expressly for painting on from Syria, Phœnicia, or Cyprus, and marked on the back with the name of the persons supplying them, or of those to whom they were consigned. Still, to me it appears most probable that this board had long filled a place in the high priest's house, to admonish the household to remember that "Ba'al helps."

The figures on the back of the panel have been regarded as caricatures. But this is an error. I should suppose them, on the contrary, to be attempts made by a hand practiced in Egyptian conventional art to indicate to the painter what was required. The curved

lines, half effaced, perhaps are meant to represent the lock of hair and to show the artist its correct form. A multitude of guesses which arise from this identification need not here be detailed. I will allude only to one. No. 7, in spite of the high rank of the subject, is by no means one of the best pictures. If the youth died abroad—in Cyprus, perchance—and if a painter had there been commissioned to execute the portrait, it commends itself to our judgment to imagine that the Egyptian who came to fetch away the mummy sketched on the back of the panel in his own stiff manner the point on which he wished particular care to be lavished.

Heydemann's attempt to identify this lock with a fashion of dressing the hair which Lucian describes as worn by Egyptian boys, and which suggested to him the old Ionian *krobylos*, is quite a mistake. The *κροβύλος* was a plait of hair standing erect from the crown of the head, and Lucian (Navigium, §§ 2 and 3) says quite clearly: "The boys wear the hair drawn back from the forehead on both sides and bound behind the head." This is plainly enough described, and the lock under discussion was always worn on one side only, and over the ear. Lucian, whose descriptions are always conspicuously lucid, can not have alluded to this.

Thus the lock worn by No. 7 may serve to give validity to my view that the person it represents belonged to an old family of high priests attached to the worship of Ba'al or Set, as established from the period of the Hyksos in Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë. If his father was the chief priest—for he himself looks too young, though Heliogabalus was even younger when he filled the office of High Priest of the Sun at Emesa—the Ptolemaic sovereign can hardly have failed to invite

him to court and enroll him among the royal pages. Hence No. 7 must at the latest have been painted towards the close of the rule of the Lagides, in the last century before Christ. And this assertion is supported by other reasons, which seem to prove irrefutably that the oldest of these portraits owe their existence to this period, nay, perhaps—or indeed most likely—to the second century before Christ, though to the last years of it.

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FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT THE EARLIEST PORTRAITS  
MUST HAVE BEEN EXECUTED UNDER THE LATER  
PTOLEMIES.

*Similar documents in Cyprus and at Pompeii. The cemeteries at Rubaiyat, Kerke, and Hawara. The hyacinthine purple. The left or sword side. Flowers and wreaths.*

We will now direct our attention for a moment to other and allied works of art, and glance at the burial places of Kerke and Hawara, examining the characteristics of certain portraits which promise to throw light on the subject in question.

Two coffins of mummy form were found by Cesnola in the island of Cyprus, with effigies at the head end. They are indeed masks; still they show an affinity with the portraitlike style of the Egyptian mummy cases under discussion, and both would be at once referred by any unprejudiced judge to the period of the Ptolemies rather than that of the Roman occupation. One of them (Cesnola, XCI, 590) shows traces of color

on the eyes and hair, and the face, too, was painted.\* The discoverer's remarks are quite to the purpose: "The treatment of the hair, though somewhat superficial, is yet of an excellent period. The type of the face is also large and simple in style." No. 589, which resembles it, but wears three rows of curls, once had an inscription, but it is so much defaced that Cesnola can only pronounce it to be Phœnician. Traces of some of the characters seem to have induced him to regard it as Semitic. These sarcophagi at any rate prove that such coffins were in use in Cyprus, and probably under the Ptolemies.

In Pompeii, too, we meet with pictures which remind us of our portraits. Most like them is the double portrait from the house of the baker and duumvir (magistrate) P. Paquius (Pacuvius) Proculus,† representing that respectable citizen and his pretty young wife. It is painted on the wall of the tablinum, and although it would seem to be a good likeness, as a work of art it is far behind the best portraits in the Graf collection. It is similar in execution. We shall presently return to the discussion of the influence of Alexandrian art on that of Campania, which was pointed out by Helbig long before the discovery of the portraits from the Fayum.

The most flourishing period of art in Pompeii is (according to Nissen) to be dated from 200 to 300 B. C., and it was during this time that Alexandrian influence

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\* Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*, etc.

† Represented in Nicolini, *Nuovi scavi. Le case ed i Monumenti di Pompeii. Napoli, I mestieri e le Industrie di Pompejani. Tav. 1* (to the left hand, at the bottom).

made itself most strongly felt, while the portrait mummies may be ascribed to about the middle of the period. Finding pictures there, as we do, nearly allied to these portraits, the Alexandrian must still be regarded as the earlier, and the growth of art in Pompeii (which was destroyed A. D. 79) ceased, as has been said, in about 80 B. C. Even among the very best of the Campanian portraits there are none which do not sink into the shade by the side of the finest of the mummy portraits; and this circumstance again warrants us in ascribing the earliest of these portraits to a date between 200 and 80 B. C., that is, in the second century before Christ.

It would be vain to attempt to identify the ethnological affinities of the persons represented in pictures only of the head and bust, and intended as mere remembrances of the dead; still, as we find among a considerable number of portraits from one and the same place only rare examples of a purely Roman or African type, we are, I think, justified in regarding that place as belonging to a colony where Roman influence was as yet little felt, and where the Egyptian element was already dying out. As the pictures found in the necropolis of Kerke are almost all Greek, Semitic, or a mixture of the two, and a few others occur which seem to betray a mixture of Hellenic and Egyptian blood, we may infer that this burial place belonged to a Greek settlement which, like Alexandria and other Hellenized towns, permitted the presence of Semitic elements, and had not yet been compelled to endure the intrusion of the military and civil myrmidons of the Roman Empire.

This exactly meets the case of Arsinoë before the subjection of Egypt to Rome.

Even under the Romans it remained a Greek town; its importance under the Ptolemies may be best understood from the statement of so trustworthy a writer as Schweinfurth, who says of the ruins of the ancient Crocodilopolis-Arsinoë: "The coins of the Ptolemies are sold by the kilo, as old copper." \*

And portrait mummies were entombed in the necropolis of Kerke even in Roman times, though, as it seemed to me from what have been found there, certainly in less number; while the bodies and portraits brought to light at Hawara by Flinders Petrie and others are for the most part of the imperial period.

This place, Hawara (now pointed out as the site of the Labyrinth), was only half as far from Arsinoë as Rubaiyat, and it may therefore be assumed that the Greek colony settled in the ancient Crocodilopolis carried their dead, and, after the middle of the second century before Christ their picture mummies to Kerke; but at a later date, for some unknown reason—after the destruction of the Labyrinth—deposited them at Hawara.

When we compare the best portraits in the Graf collection with the worst brought to Europe by him and Flinders Petrie, we at once perceive that, though the difference is no doubt due to the talents of the respective painters, a general decay of the arts seems extremely probable.

It can be proved from other evidence that the custom of decorating mummies with portraits persisted for a long time. This is clear, partly from variations in the mode of burial and the costume of the dead,

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\* Reise in das Depressionsgebiet im Umkreise des Fayum, Zeitschrift der Gesellsch. für Erdkunden, Berlin, 1886, p. 148 A.

partly from the altered technique of the workmanship. At first—and therefore in the best pictures—encaustic was most frequently employed; subsequently tempera painting was thought good enough. But what is particularly remarkable is the fact that panels have been found painted on both sides. As a work of art the second picture is far inferior to the first, and, considering the pious reverence shown in preserving the mummies, a long time must have elapsed, and more than one generation have passed away, before any one dared remove a portrait from the dead and use it to paint another head on.

To resume our conclusions in one sentence: Arsinoë, a Hellenic colony, buried her dead in two cemeteries. The first was much the farther off from Kerke. For some unknown reason the older necropolis of Hawara was subsequently preferred. And in Roman times this was the favorite cemetery, where, with older and finer portrait mummies, a large proportion of later paintings have been found, among them several of the time of Hadrian, while others seem to be of the date of the Antonines and their successors.

If we now more closely investigate the best and earliest portraits in the Graf collection we find that my hypothesis as to their date is supported by many minor circumstances. In the first place, we find many portions of clothing which are colored purple. Now it is well known that Julius Cæsar restricted the use and display of purple, and that Nero promulgated a still more stringent edict against the wearing of garments of that color, which Gratian Valentinian and Theodosius prohibited at a still later date. Adolf Schmidt, however, has pointed out that though it was to the interest

of the Cæsars to prohibit the wearing of purple as being their prerogative at a time when *purpuram sumere* and *imperium sumere* were synonymous, the use of it was not absolutely interdicted; purple was at all times in use in the form of stripes, edgings, and trimmings. In many of these portraits the ribbons before mentioned are of a light purple hue, and several, both men and women, wear garments of this color. This, indeed, was permitted even in imperial times. On the other hand, private persons were strictly forbidden to wear cloaks of two particular shades or tints of purple. These, as A. Schmidt conclusively proves, were, first, blood color or red purple; secondly, the purple of the hyacinth or amethyst, which was reckoned noble. This was a rich violet, a mixture of the deepest purple and buccin. It was the earliest and most *recherché* of all hues, called *color principalis, eximius*, and *felix*, reserved to Cæsar, and undoubtedly the dye which Augustus meant when he allowed only senators in office to wear it besides himself. Virgil (Georg. IV, v, 275) says of it: "*Violæ subluceat purpura nigræ*"—beneath the black (dark) violet the purple gleams. A mantle of hyacinthine or amethyst purple was not merely deep violet but what we call "shot," that is to say, colored so that the blackish violet blue showed a red gleam in the light.

From the time of Julius Cæsar no private or official person was allowed to wear such a cloak; and inasmuch as our portraits represent men who do wear them, these must have lived before the time of the Cæsar, for even Theodosius prohibited such a garment. It was an imperial privilege to appear in stuffs of this magnificent hue. In the time of the Ptolemies, how-

ever, any one in Egypt might wear it, and at that time the purple dye there seems to have been little inferior to that of Tyre; at any rate, the shell purple of Alexandria was famous in the days of Plautus (184 B. C.) at an epoch not long before that when the earliest of these portraits seem to have been executed.

Among those in the Graf collection we find four men wearing the mantle of hyacinth or amethyst purple, and this appears to me conclusive. They are Nos. 22, 6, 4, and 5, and it can not be accidental that all four of these, and these only, are marked as men of high rank by other tokens, and that they have sword belts with buckles, to which the weapon is attached in a way that stamps them as Greeks.\* It hangs, in fact, on the left side, while the Romans carried the sword on the right side. A high Roman official or military man, like No. 22, would not have worn his sword on the left side. This personage also had a gold clasp attached to his hyacinth-purple cloak, and his hair was bound by a golden bay wreath of a double row of leaves. What would be the meaning of such a clasp on the purple mantle of a Roman magnate—who, indeed, could not have worn it? But we know on trustworthy authority that the Ptolemaic kings were wont to send such clasps to the *συγγενεῖς* or “relatives” before mentioned who were about their person, and that they alone were entitled to wear them.†

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\* The sword itself, indeed, is not visible, but it must naturally have hung at the end of the belt, which in three instances out of the four passes over the right shoulder and across the breast to the left.

† Lumbroso, *loc. cit.*, p. 190. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l’Egypte*, Paris, 1845-’48, i, 349. In ancient Egypt, too, the Pharaohs bestowed similar distinctions. In

In No. 6 only the golden wreath is absent; his sword also hangs from its belt on the left side. A band of blood-colored purple lies across his white chiton. The third wearer of the purple mantle has a golden bay wreath with the leaves three and three. He, too, has a sword on his left, hanging to a belt with a golden clasp. In No. 5 there is no wreath, but the hyacinthine cloak is fastened with a gold clasp; the sword belt with the clasp lies almost horizontally across the breast from left to right, very high up. In this one the mouth more especially suggests that the subject was of Semitic origin; he may, perhaps, have quitted the service of Rome to join the army of the Lagides.

We look in vain for any trace of hyacinth purple in the dress of the other men and women. Any other shades of this color are to us of no significance; but the fact that the men who wear the mantles of hyacinth purple are at the same time those, and those alone, who carry a sword attached to a belt with a buckle, and that three of them wear it in the Greek fashion, on the left side, is strong evidence in support of my opinion. Jewish captains were not unusual under the Ptolemies; Onia, under Philometer (+146), is the best known.\* What Roman general who would allow himself to be entombed in the Hellenic fashion, as a mummy with a portrait attached, can be conceived of as wearing a hyacinth-colored mantle, a gold clasp

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the biographical inscription deciphered by me of Amen em heb, eighteenth dynasty, he is decorating the man standing next to him with the order of the Golden Lion; and Ahmes the Admiral has been decorated in the same way just before.

\* The Hellenic citizenship was also bestowed on Hebrews. Josephus contra Apionem ii, 3.

like an order, and his sword on the left instead of on the right side?—whereas under the later Ptolemies we can hardly imagine a general and a “relative of the king” in any other guise. These four important pictures are so admirably painted, that for this, if for no other reason, they must be ascribed to the good early period.

The flowers and wreaths which adorn the various female portraits are important as bearing on the date of their execution only in so far as they prove that the wearers were not Christians, but heathen, and that many heathen formalities were observed in the interment at least of some of them. As early as under the Pharaohs the Egyptians loved to deck themselves with flowers. They were used in quantities at every festival, and the bodies both of men and women of the royal family discovered at Der-el-Bahri were in many cases dressed with flowers. Golden wreaths, too, like those depicted in the portraits, were often placed on the head of the corpse. H. Rhind found a particularly fine one at Thebes, and has given a drawing of it.\* Garlands of papyrus were plaited with such grace and lightness, that Plutarch of Agesilaus says he was so delighted with one that was presented to him on his arrival in Egypt that at his departing he begged to have a second. We need not here dwell on the importance ascribed to wreaths in heathen times by the Greeks and their successors, the Romans. They fell into desuetude after the introduction of Christianity; and the mere way in which the mummies of Kerke

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\* H. Rhind, *Facsimiles of Two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes*. London, 1863. Pl. on p. 26, Fig. II.

were decked with garlands of gold and of flowers is enough to prove that these portraits represented heathen. The wreath worn by No. 9 is especially distinctive, because it is constructed exactly like the wreaths of leaves found in the royal mummies at Der-el-Bahri. A very good idea may be formed of these wreaths (made of flowers which I can not pretend to determine botanically) from the chains of flowers made by children by threading the tube of one blossom into the heart of another (of lilac or of elder) till they make a long string. Thus, in the floral decoration of a mummy of the Pharaonic period, willow leaves were strung one upon another till they formed a long chain which was wound round the body. The woolen fillet and woolen bands in Nos. 38, 9, and 25, as well as the ribbons in other portraits, occur nowhere but on heathen Hellenic effigies of pre-Christian date. The woolen fillet on the head of the boy (?) No. 38, is essentially characteristic of heathen Greek sculpture.

We also find cups represented in the hands of the deceased, and the edicts of Theodosius prohibited the use of garlands of flowers in the worship of the lares and penates, and of the genius, a worship evidently closely connected with the portraits in question.

To recapitulate, our conclusion may be summed up in the following propositions:

All the portraits of the Graf collection represent heathen men and women.

The earliest of them must have been painted in the time of the Ptolemies and probably not later than the second century before Christ.

THE USE OF PORTRAITS ON MUMMIES LASTED TILL  
THE EDICTS OF THEODOSIUS, 392.

*The edicts. Portraits of the time of Hadrian. The dressing of the beard. The affinity of the portrait mummies with other earlier forms of art.*

I may thus regard it as proved that the custom of attaching portraits to mummies began in the second century before Christ and continued till the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, when the Prefect Cynegius began to enforce the edicts of Theodosius of A. D. 385 in Syria and Egypt. In that of November 10, 392, it is ordered that no one, of whatever age or rank, etc., shall anywhere bring a guiltless beast for sacrifice, or do honor with sinful mysteries (in the service of the dead), either to his lar by lighting a fire, or to his genius by offering pure wine (without water), or to his penates by offering fragrant spices, or by burning lights or incense, or hanging up garlands of flowers. And whoso should offend in these and other matters, his house and effects should be confiscated as the penalty.\*

It must here be observed that the lar and the genius to whom it is hereby forbidden to make various offerings, including flowers, were invoked in the form of pictures of the deceased; and that both, especially the genius, corresponded nearly to the Egyptian Ka, to which, in fact, the custom of placing portraits on the mummies owed its origin, and which was, as it were, one with it.

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\* Codex Theod., xvi, 10, 12.

To facilitate the worship of the genius some of the sarcophagi found in the necropolis in which mummies had been laid were, as Stadler tells us, so constructed that the lid could be opened; and, as has been described above, the Ka or genius wore the form of the deceased, which was made sensible to the worshiper by means of the portrait. Hence the edict of Theodosius included these mummies. Several of these prove to have been the bodies of high officials or of members of their families. If such mummies had been prepared after the promulgation of the edict the law would have been broken, both by the attachment of the portrait and by the floral adornments; and we know for certain that the portrait mummies were not secretly interred, but quite openly conveyed and buried in the usual public cemetery. We may therefore regard the end of the fourth century as the date of the latest examples of the class of mummies under consideration.

Between this *terminus ad quem* and the date of the earliest portrait mummy lies a tolerably long space of time, and a series of these portraits dates back to its beginning, namely, the middle or end of the second century before Christ. Several were painted under Hadrian (A. D. 117-138). This is proved by various coffins, and the labels, which were probably dug out where the coffins were discovered. But the place where the labels were found is known only of a few. As to the two sarcophagi at Berlin already mentioned, Wilcken has proved that the first contained the remains of Phaminis, a grandson of Soter, the Archon of Thebes; Sensaos and Tkauthi, the sisters who lay in the other, were Soter's daughters. They certainly lived under Hadrian. The pictures attached are of small value as

works of art, and differ from those in the Graf collection, inasmuch as the children are depicted at full length, and at the bottom inside the mummy case. The six Paris portraits can not be identified, but they are of about the same period. The mummy labels no doubt belong to the first or second century after Christ; one, at any rate, most certainly, for the inscription is in the cursive of that time. They were, however, not written till some time after the death of the person designated, when the mummy was removed for burial.

Very possibly the labeling of mummies was not practiced till Roman times; perhaps some of those inscribed with uncial letters, and which it is impossible to date, belong to the end of the Ptolemaic rule; and perhaps by some accident none of the oldest have been discovered. Heydemann has endeavored to prove that most of these portraits were painted during or after the reign of Hadrian, because this emperor was the first to wear a beard, and most of the men in the Graf collection also wear beards, whereas almost all the Ptolemies were beardless. But I can not at all accept his conclusions. The heads with the lock, which, in my opinion, are those of men closely connected with the Lagides, are beardless too; and was it ever the law or rule in ancient times that the subjects of the empire—and that in a by no means particularly loyal province—should cut their beards exactly by the pattern of Cæsar? It would not be difficult to prove the very reverse. The Ptolemies certainly for the most part wore no beard, but the refractory Alexandrians can have cared little about it; and the Lagides were clean shaved only because the tradition of the family required them to appear as like the great Alexander as possible.

On looking through Poole's beautiful catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, we see that Philopator has a small beard, and the brother of Auletes, who governed Cyprus, has a fine full beard. It is indeed quite possible to suppose that one or another of the family may at times have adopted the fashion;\* still they do, as a rule, appear clean shaved. At the same time, the layman who looks through these photographs of coins will be inclined to believe that the sovereigns were all bearded, for on half at least of the specimens they had themselves represented, in imitation of Alexander, with a conventional resemblance to Jupiter Ammon, with or without rams' horns, but always with the thick beard with which we are familiar from the heads of Zeus or Serapis. The men of riper years are shown in these portraits with hair on the upper lip and chin, but worn much shorter than is usual on the images of the god. The youths are carefully shaved.

The weakness of Heydemann's argument can be shown by several examples. Antonius, the beardless emperor's chief defender, wore a thick beard; Seneca grew a rather less fine one at the court of a beardless Cæsar; and Hadrian, the first emperor who allowed his beard and whiskers to grow—in order, it is said, to hide a mole—did not persuade his brother-in-law Servianus to remain unshaved. He, so nearly allied to Cæsar, and to whom Hadrian's famous letter was addressed from Alexandria, was represented in advanced

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\* Philometer is seen with his whole beard with Cleopatra I. (Poole, Greek Coins, pt. xviii, 8), but it seems to be an adaptation of the Zeus type.

life in a bust with a hairless face. Private men of wealth, such as figure for the most part in these portraits, are rarely seen on monuments. In comic scenes we find them wearing beards, even under beardless sovereigns (relief in the Mus. Borbonico, Naples; Schreiber's Wiener Brunnen-reliefs, p. 25), and the country folk in Hellenic Egypt wore both beards and mustaches, as may be seen in a bas-relief from Alexandria in the Munich Glyptothek; it represents peasants on their way to market, and certainly dates from before the time of Hadrian.

Besides, if the Egyptians had in fact mimicked the emperor's hair and beard or beardlessness, the women must surely have copied the empress's curls. But there is no sign of such a thing in any of the pictures, and could hardly be, for the ladies of Alexandria, and their husbands and fathers too, preferred their own taste to that of the Romans. Nor were they wrong. Their artists were in demand at Rome; and in Campania, where, in spite of the most fearful destruction by nature, so much remains preserved by natural means, we may most clearly see how deeply Alexandrian art, especially in painting, influenced that of Italy. If Heydemann's view were correct, the portraits found there of important citizens, which were probably painted under beardless emperors, and certainly long before the time of Hadrian, would also show clean-shaven faces; but the reverse is the case, for the portrait which most resembles those in the Graf collection, that of the baker and duumvir Paquius Proculus\*

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\* Niccolini Nuovi Scavi. I mestieri e i industrie dei Pompejani, Tav. i.

(who was painted with his wife on the wall of his tablinum), the men playing draughts, etc., have mustaches and short beards exactly like most of those of men of riper years—Nos. 3-6, 20, 26, 28, 41, 44, 49, 50, 64, 69, Graf collection—and like the busts of Hadrian, who came to the throne thirty-eight years after the destruction of Pompeii.

But a mummy belonging to R. Virchow\* must decisively contradict Heydemann's suggestion, and two others may be named with it. It is that of a great personage of the tenth century before Christ, and he wears a mustache and whiskers of which the cut precisely resembles that in Nos. 3-6, 20, etc. (Graf collection), and the busts of Hadrian. We see from this that Egyptians of rank wore a short but complete beard at a very early date—a thousand years before the first bearded Cæsar—and consequently that they did not shave the lip and chin so universally as might be supposed from the Pharaonic monuments. Smoother faces, and statues with small artificial beards, are only a conventional representation, in accordance with the typical tradition of Egyptian art, of the old style of beard which had long gone out of fashion. If the whole beard of the Egyptians had been quite unheard of for men of rank, Alexander and his successors would hardly have allowed Jupiter Ammon to be represented with it; and on the national monuments it is often replaced by the conventional artificial beard. When the bearded image of Serapis was introduced under the early Ptolemies, toward the end of the third

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\* R. Virchow. *Bildertafeln aus ägyptischen Gräbern*. Verhandl. der Berlin. Gesell. für Anthropologie, Jan. 19, 1889, p. 43.

century before Christ, they readily accustomed themselves to its worship.

The shape of the beard, then, can not be taken as a chronological basis. Nor does it seem to me indispensable, for what we might learn from individual details is sufficiently established by putting back the history of the origin and subsequent use of the portraits.

In the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ the custom had already become general of incasing the mummy in one of those *cartonnage*, mummy-shaped shells we have mentioned; this was subsequently laid in a wooden coffin, and sometimes in a stone sarcophagus. Even on the *cartonnages* the face of the dead—a molded mask, gilt or colored—was applied, meant certainly in many cases to be a portrait of the deceased. This custom was at its height during the twenty-sixth dynasty (B. C. 664–525). It lasted through the Persian period (B. C. 525–333), and after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, till under the Ptolemies, when Hellenism struck firm root on the shores of the Nile.

Th. Schreiber has lately devoted his attention with signal success to the art of this period, and he says: "It may be regarded as the leading feature of the art under the successors of Alexander that in every department, in architecture no less than sculpture, the tendency toward painting is conspicuous. In this respect classic or Hellenic art may be compared to modern art: it regards painting as of the first importance, and gives it prominence above the plastic arts."

Thus, also, in the funereal monuments of the Hellenic Egyptians painting held the foremost place. The face, formerly molded to adorn the coffin, was

now painted on wood and glued to it. All the processes of art necessarily tended to this end when, after the second century before Christ, the Hellenic population of Egypt had adopted the practice of mummifying their dead. Under the later Lagides the supplying of portraits for mummies corresponded to various similar new uses of art; under the Roman rule such a practice would be singular and inexplicable, irrespective of the fact that the second century after Christ produced no painting worthy to compare with the best of the works here under discussion. That the portraits should perish with the mummies they belong to is but natural, and in many cases it may be assumed that the inferior portraits are the latest.

This view gains support from the fact that the best and therefore the oldest pictures are distinguished by the most striking individualization, while those of the time of Hadrian, though of the same class, have acquired such a typical stamp of features that a suspicion of their having been ready painted for the purchaser can not be dismissed without hesitation.

The more or less finish of the work is not, of course, decisive as to their age, since at any time inferior painters may have been employed by persons of less wealth, till the edict of Theodosius made it a penal offense to inter the dead with such adjuncts.

These considerations, therefore, I believe support the view, now sufficiently proved, that the earliest of these portraits have come down to us from the time of the later Ptolemies, about the middle of the second century before Christ, and that the latest were painted just before the promulgation of the edict of Theodosius. Those which were painted in and after the

time of Hadrian already betray a marked decadence. And under the Antonines the practice of burial without embalming began to prevail.

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HELLENIC CULTURE. REALISM, AND THE PORTRAITS  
IN QUESTION. CERTAIN PORTRAITS OF MEN.

If we now glance at the development of Greek, and especially of Alexandrian, life in Egypt, with special reference to the best of the Graf portraits—which, as has been said, are undoubtedly the oldest—we find that art, which must be regarded as a most important factor in the characteristic features of that life, was reciprocally influenced by its most striking peculiarities, as we see in these very portraits.

How entirely practical that life was, how centered in realism, is well known, and has lately been shown with regard to its art. Some works of that time which have come down to us remind us of similar paintings of the present day by their delight in the naturalistic representation of reality.

And yet they have not forfeited the joy in beauty of an earlier age and of their native home; the art of the Greeks in Egypt and of Alexandria has been recognized and discussed as having a stamp of its own, quite apart from portrait painting. One distinctive characteristic is the clear and determined eye with which it studies the object to be depicted, and endeavors to represent it with realistic truth down to the smallest details. Helbig, in his treatise on the mural paintings of Campania, duly recognized the influence of art under the successors of Alexander, with Alex-

andria for its center; and he is perfectly right when he points out that this realistic technique on which I am insisting may be discerned not only in the painting but in the historical literature of the time. For the historians under the Ptolemies no longer view the personages of whom they write merely as historical figures, but endeavor to give such details as may result in a living picture, describing their appearance, and even their dress and their manner of eating and drinking, and giving anecdotes of their peculiarities and private life. The same realistic vein is found running through every province of Alexandrian intellectual culture. It may be considered as the precursor of the methods of observation pursued in our own day; and in natural history especially the professors, attracted to the court of the Ptolemies by the great museum, abandoned the old systems and metaphysical illusions, to concentrate their attention on actual phenomena in a spirit of true research. No other school of philosophy has come so near our own in scientific matters. While in the department of medicine, by operating on condemned prisoners, they achieved the discovery that the brain is the seat of the intellect, and mastered the functions of the heart, vivisectioning not only animals but human beings in their pursuit of knowledge,\* they were also acquainted with the power of steam, had

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\* Tertullian (*De Anima* 10) tells of Herophilus, who came to Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter, that he had dissected many men "*ut naturam scrutaretur*." To disprove the theory that there exists in the soul a *ἡγεμονικόν*, that is to say, a guiding principle, a higher, supreme entity, Asclepiades decapitated several animals and removed the heart, to show that they could not continue to live and feel.

discovered the most important laws of mechanics, and had applied the same methods to the measurement of the earth which have been used ever since the time of Eratosthenes to the present day.

Thus in Alexandria, under the Ptolemies, science was enriched by conquests in many lines till then undreamed of, and hand in hand with the investigations of students and the inventions of art commerce developed on an enormous scale, including parts of the earth as yet unvisited, and bringing together every people and tribe of the known world.

Countless treasure flowed through the city into the hands of its merchants—Greek, Semitic, and Egyptian; every one in Alexandria adopted the use of the Greek language and Greek manners, and, as the sovereign set the example of interesting himself in the intellectual struggle characteristic of the Hellenic race in every land, the enriched merchants, shippers, and artisans also cultivated science and art, and availed themselves of their resources to add to the graces of life. In their working hours they benefited by the discoveries of inquiring spirits; they beguiled their hours of leisure by taking part in the hair-splitting discussions of philosophers, theosophists, and other learned men; the wealthy employed their riches in paying artists to embellish their houses with works of genius in a style undreamed of elsewhere. We know now the *genre* pictures treating the landscape element in a quite new way, with which the Alexandrians loved to decorate the walls of their living rooms, we know, too, the toy-like statuettes—among them the fruit sellers described by Schreiber—representing subjects from life with wonderful realism and sometimes with extraordi-

nary truth, which were certainly wrought in Alexandria.

And in like manner these portraits show how earnestly the Hellenic settlers in Egypt strove at that time to give a likeness the utmost individuality and the most realistic treatment. The ideal and the general alike are necessarily cast into the background, for the ideal must always lose in the struggle with the good things of this life, and artistic generalization must always give way before the claims of the individual. These, again, are asserted more strongly as the culture of his mind is higher, as his acquired wealth is greater, and the prouder he is to regard himself as a patron and employer, as a Mæcenas, and a ready speaker in the senate, or at the banquet enhanced by intellectual pleasures. The newly invented poetic form of the idyl aimed at the utmost possible truth in depicting the aspects of reality; to characterize them strikingly, giving prominence to what was admirable, and exposing what was mean, evil, and morbid, was the purpose of the keenly pointed epigram. The arts of representation no longer shrank from showing the defects of the sitter. Those who are unable to visit museums, by turning over the pages of Viscount's Iconography, may see from the bust of the humpbacked Æsop how the sculptors of the time displayed personal deformity, and turned it to admirable profit in enhancing the intellectual character of the cripple. It is well known that the youthful beauty of Alexander the Great was marred by a wry neck, and the art of his day did not hesitate to betray this malformation—still, in such a way that it was lost in the appearance of swift action which distinguishes that work, and which so well beseems the

conqueror of the world, whose whole short life was a constant rush to be foremost, to overthrow, to seize, and to hold.

If the artists of that day, while they tried to mitigate the deformity of so great a man—to turn it to account, indeed, and, as it were, to ennoble it—yet dared not so far overstep the limit line of actuality as to ignore it altogether, the Hellenic painters were much less likely to shrink from showing such defects without any attempt at concealment, when the portrait represented a private citizen. Truth to nature, that realism of which Lysistratus was considered the boldest champion, was the first requirement imposed on the portrait painter, and the end he himself aimed at. This is convincingly shown by these pictures, one of which (Graf collection, No. 26) happens to depict a malformation similar to that of Alexander. It is that of a man of middle age whose neck had grown awry; and Dr. Muret, the well-known physician of Vevey, whose observation is supported by the most distinguished medical men of Munich, was the first to point out that here we have a case of pathological shortening of the sterno-cleido-mastoid, and that the painter has rendered with great skill the abnormal direction of the eyes which commonly accompanies this deformity, in consequence of the effort to keep the line of sight level in spite of the obliquity of the head. The most ignorant are at once struck by the truth of this likeness of some deformed Greek; and yet the artist has been able to avoid all repulsive ugliness in spite of the sincerity of his work.

And we always find the same truthfulness as in this case of pathological interest. There is not one among

the better pictures that does not carry the conviction that these portraits are unflattered and speaking likenesses; and this is no less true of the coloring than of the drawing and expression of the faces.

Compare the swarthy Græco-Egyptian No. 50—his manly features, speaking eye, determined mouth, black mustache and beard—with the delicate pink-and-white complexioned girl No. 15, wearing a gold fillet in her black hair and a necklace of precious stones, and you will appreciate the artist's keen individualization and realistic handling. Still, it is not needful for this to study so great a contrast as that between a frail-looking girl, snatched away, perhaps, by lung disease, and a strong man in the prime of life. We may see it in any of the best paintings, and will first examine those of men and boys.

Here are four portraits of citizens all past their youth. No. 31 is a ruddy, dark man, whose black hair and beard as yet show no gray. He must have been a man of energy verging on fierceness, and not pleasant to deal with. He was very certainly vehement and determined, and when rebellion was in the air would be one of the ringleaders. Such men must those Egyptians have been of whom Flavius Vopiscus was thinking when he described them as "a stormy, impetuous, boastful, and criminal race, captivated like children by any new thing, loving to sing satirical songs in public, devoted to epigram and verse making, and no less to mathematics, soothsaying, and quack doctoring."

No better illustration of this description can be imagined than No. 31 (Graf collection), while No. 64, a vigorous-looking man with some traces of Ethiopian

blood (to which we shall again refer), was no doubt competent to repress the revolt in which No. 31 would have taken part. No. 64 was probably a government official, for he wears a gold band on his woolly head. No. 20 is a man of about fifty. His face, too, is brown, and a few white threads are visible in his hair, mustache, and beard; this is cut in the fashion of the time, somewhat short, and in such a shape as to prolong the oval of the face. He was perhaps of Semitic race—Hebrew or Phœnician—and his bright, shrewd eye assures us that he was a capable official or man of business. It needed greater provocation to stir him to wrath than would have enraged No. 31, and we can conceive of him as a trustworthy friend and good father of the household.

The fine man No. 21 has lately attracted much interest. Lenbach regards it as the best of all the portraits. It represents a man not much past the bloom of youth. His hair falls in natural and perhaps not unintentional disorder over his brow; and if we study all the features of his not unpleasing but impulsive face, and not merely the bold, alert eyes and the sensuous mustachioed lips, we may regard it as that of a headstrong man who nevertheless was ready enough to yield when necessary for the gratification of unbridled desires. This man looks as though he still stood in the midst of "storm and stress," and far away from that inward harmony which middle life was supposed to bring to the philosophically cultured Greek. The original of this portrait cared nothing for the Stoa—nay, hardly even for Aristippos, who, however, taught the avoidance of no pleasure; reflection was not in his nature. He stands in the midst of life; he

would clutch passionately, and, if needful, snatch violently, anything that promised enjoyment.

The sitter from whom a less skilled and less sympathetic artist painted No. 44 was undoubtedly of Semitic origin. He is a man of wealth, and about thirty years of age; but beyond this the picture tells us little but that he was a man of the world and of sensuous tastes. His low forehead is not that of a thinker; his full lips are formed to relish the material pleasures of life; the nose and eyes are those of the financier of our own day, and, like so many of these, he, too, knew how to dress with elegance. The care bestowed by the painter on his white and crocus-colored upper robe with a large gold brooch on the shoulder \* may perhaps have afforded him such satisfaction as to counterbalance his annoyance at the flat modeling of his features. We may here glance at another symbolical ornament, worn by a woman, No. 96. It is a crescent or half moon, with a star hanging from a chain on each side of it. It marks the wearer as participating in the mysteries or the worship of Isis or some kindred goddess. Gnostic symbols were of the same type.

Next comes a pair of aged men. No. 2 is a thinker, learned but not prone to talk; or, if he were a merchant, a grave and cautious manager of his business, who in his leisure hours would take up a favorite author—Aristotle and Zeno rather than Plato or Epicurus. No. 36 is a man of sixty, with a rough gray beard, brows that meet in the middle, and large, defiant looking eyes—the sort of face we attribute to a cynic

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\* Not a clasp, such as those who bore the title of *συγγεῖταις*, or relatives of the Ptolemies, were allowed to display.

philosopher who purposely neglects the outer man, and who, by his disputatious temper, would have been a pike among the carp in the stagnant pool of the philosophers of his time.

Nos. 4 and 22 (like Nos. 5 and 6) wear the hyacinth-purple mantle, and this and the diadem on their brows (as in No. 61) mark them as magnates in the state. No. 22 has, as has been said, the clasp bestowed as an "order" on those men of high rank who enjoyed the title of "relations of the sovereign." They all wear their hair and beard in the same fashion: the beard and mustache clipped short, and under the mouth a tuft of hair is left, known to modern barbers as an "imperial." No. 4 has the aristocratic features of a young patrician in the early thirties, with the expression of calm indifference so common in those favored mortals who from their youth up have been abundantly endowed with all the good gifts for which their inferiors in rank often strive in vain. The pear-shaped head has a certain reposeful dignity, but a keen spirit looks out of the open eyes. If this man held office, very little can ever have escaped his notice, and they were unwise who defied his will. The sword belt has already been discussed. The head No. 61, which also wears a gold diadem, and is painted on a gold ground, recalls the Coptic type so often seen in Egypt. The subject may have been of Egyptian race, and the expression of the face plainly shows that life was not so sweet to him as to other wearers of the diadem who were buried by his side—nay, that it had often been full of bitterness. I may here reiterate the remark that, as the inscriptions, etc., prove, provincial magnates even in Cyprus were among the officials and courtiers who

enjoyed the titles of "relations," "messmates," and "friends" of the Ptolemaic sovereigns.

In Nos. 27 and 47 we have two boys who, though scarcely past their school days, cherish, if in vain, the first downy promise of a mustache; but how unlike are they save in this respect! No. 27 is the dark-olive son of rich parents, of Egyptian race, and perhaps princely birth, for gold foliage is twined with his black hair. Defiance and sensuality accentuate his full lips, self-reliance sparkles in his large dark eyes, and though his portrait has been much damaged it still enables us to look into the soul of a youth untroubled by any thought of death, who enjoyed all the pleasures of his age and was already satiated with some. Quite different is No. 47. Here we have a face of light complexion, with hair cut straight over the forehead. Softer boyish features are hardly conceivable, and yet this youth was not easily led; the thin and firmly set lips betray a stubborn will. His tutor may have found it hard to discipline this pupil, for a faint tinge of melancholy shrouds the sweet, purely Greek countenance. It would be easy to believe that the delicate blossom of manhood foresaw its early end. If these portraits were removed from the living room, or copied from pictures there, the youths represented can hardly have been much older when they died, for if they had lived to riper years, they would, in view of their rank—as regards No. 27 at least—have been painted again later. No. 27 would never have stooped to base sensuality; of No. 47 we can hardly say so much.

PORTRAITS OF WOMEN. THEIR MERIT AS WORKS OF  
ART. EYES AND ARTIFICIAL DARKENING OF THE  
EYES. THE TWO BEAUTIES NOS. 45 AND 8. CON-  
CLUSION.

And now for the women! On them our artists have lavished their utmost skill, and show us types of remarkably diverse individuality and of the greatest charm. First we have two matrons, Nos. 42 and 43. The former is a Greek of rather less or more than forty, who in her youth must have been one of the great beauties of the place, for she is still dignified and attractive with her abundant, almost luxuriant, gray hair, and dark, calmly victorious eyes, which look out with self-confident reserve. No. 43 is quite another woman. She, too, is Greek, and in her youth may have had some pretensions to beauty; but sufferings had evidently blighted her prematurely and turned her from worldly vanities. While No. 42, like most of the female portraits here, wears pearls in her ears and gold necklaces, No. 43 has not even the humblest ornament. Her hair is arranged with the utmost simplicity, and her eyes, once bright but now so sunken, bear witness to intense suffering of mind or body. No. 42 is the dominant and honored mother and matron; No. 43 a heartbroken woman to whom grief has come through her husband, and perhaps through her children.

The most charming and pleasing group of all is the series of portraits of young girls which have lain hidden so long in the dusty, silent tombs of Rubaiyat. A mournful feeling creeps over us when we reflect that so many lovely and happy lives must have fallen, still

so young, victims to the reaper Death; and as we gaze at these pictures we may well believe that it was for the comfort they might bring that the ladies of Hellenized Egypt were painted in the bloom of youth—as brides, perhaps—to grace the homes of their parents, or of their husband, and subsequently to be copied for the decoration of the mummy.

As to the artistic merits of these paintings of young women, it is certainly not too much to say that they have all the best qualities which charm us in the finest of these portraits; the features are exquisitely modeled, they are accurately and elegantly drawn, and the coloring may be called harmonious, though at first, it is true, the encaustic wax medium has perhaps a rather startling effect. But that which gives these pictures their chief value is the convincing power which reveals the individual character of every one represented. The utmost care is bestowed on the countenance, hardly any on the costume. These speaking and marvelously lifelike images are full of captivating charm; they move us now to real delight, now to sympathetic liking; one reminds us of a face, a type such as we meet with in daily life; another raises the irresistible smile with which we see a vulgar sitter depicted with intelligence and skill.

Few shades from the spectrum of female beauty are missing from this series; and they alone are sufficient to demonstrate what various means nature can use to produce the attractive and fascinating thing which we know as a lovely girl; but they also prove how closely our sense of beauty is akin to that of the Greeks, for the charming faces on which the Hellenic painters have here lavished their devoted care would

have been welcomed as models by Kaulbach and Lenbach, by Alma Tadema or Poynter.

But before proceeding I must here answer one often raised objection. When I just now used the word startling, it was with reference not only to the encaustic method of painting but also to the apparent disproportionate size of the eyes, which in many even of the male portraits are almost obtrusive. Knowing, as we do, how emphatically Greek authors insist in many passages on the power of the eye as the mirror of the soul, and how the ancient Egyptians endeavored to enhance the brilliancy of the eye by inserting into their statues eyes of feldspar and other substances, we can not but ascribe the treatment of the eyes in these portraits to some reason not directly concerning the painter. In point of fact, from the very earliest times Egypt was the land of "making up" the eye. So early as the middle kingdom (twelfth dynasty before Christ down to the third century before Christ) we find a Semitic tribe sending "eye-salve" or paint as an acceptable offering to the prince of an Egyptian nome. But it was in use long before this. Virchow was the first to discern that certain colored statues of the first kingdom had on their eyelids and round the eyes black lines precisely similar to those applied by the Egyptian women to this day. They may be seen on the fine portrait statues of Rahotep and Nerfert (sixth dynasty) discovered at Medum and preserved at Bulak; these are coeval with the oldest pyramids. And other strongly individualized statues of that period have painted eyes (Ranefer, fifth dynasty, Bulak, and others).

Virchow's observations as to the method of "making up" the eyes bears on these portraits also.

"The black *mesdem* was used not merely to darken the edges of the eyelids, but the eyebrows as well, and the line was carried on toward the temples a long way beyond the eye itself. This gave sharpness and distinctness to the outline; but it was also intended to attract the attention of the beholder in such a manner as to make that part of the face predominant over the rest. The lines of color exaggerated the almond shape of the eyes beyond what was natural; . . . and how greatly it can change the whole expression of the face may best be seen in living women."

These words of the great anthropologist \* account for the startling effect of many of these pictures. The artist simply reproduced what he saw before him, and the sitters, even of the male sex, all made up their eyes in the fashionable manner. They had not unnaturally large eyes; it was the painting which accentuated and enlarged the outline that made them appear so. Hence this peculiarity which has been adduced to prove their insincerity is in fact the faithful representation of what they actually saw.

Returning to our survey, we are first attracted by Nos. 63 and 19. They represent two happy-looking darlings of Greek homes, hardly at the age of womanhood, and best described by the English phrase of "sweet seventeen." No. 63 was the child of wealthy and aristocratic parents, for an elegantly wrought golden wreath rests lightly on her brown curls, and she wears a necklace of fine and costly pearls. How frankly the bright eyes gaze out on life! and the lips

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\* R. Virchow. *Altägyptische Augenschwarze*. Verh. der Berliner Ges. für Anthropologie, May 26, 1888, p. 211.

have just a little roguish pout, and childlike innocence is sweetly harmonized with a bright, eager intelligence. No. 19 is much more simply dressed, and wears no jewels; only the soft wavy hair falls round her small head in loose flowing abundance. The brain behind that smooth brow is less quick to perceive and think than in No. 63, but there is no lack here of mother wit; on the contrary, it shines brightly out of the large dark eyes. And the pert nose and coral lips, executed with wonderful dash and precision with a few touches of the brush—the picture is in tempera—are perfectly matched in this pretty, soubrettelike face.

We take Nos. 17 and 55 together for the sake of contrast. Although No. 55 is far inferior to many others, it is a very convincing and characteristic presentment of a girl of sixteen or seventeen. She is of Hellenic birth, as we see from the chiseled and thoroughly Greek nose and very fair complexion. This delicate creature, as yet hardly in her bloom, looks anæmic, and the difference in her eyes, represented with wonderful skill, the thin, timid mouth, the flaccid softness of the cheeks, give a truthful expression of the weariness this young creature must often have suffered from. The black wavy hair, done up high on her head, has an inelastic appearance, and the little ornament placed in the middle almost looks as if it had been lost there. But No. 17! If we place it by the side of No. 55, we could fancy that it shrugged its shoulders over its pale, apathetic companion; for here all is life and health. She knows full well that she is reckoned a beauty, and she would give a lesson to any audacious and unwelcome lover.

But she found her "valentine" at an early age. Those eager lips would hardly endure long waiting for a first manly kiss. A bad accident has unfortunately destroyed part of the upper portion of the left side of the face; but the right eye remains to show with what keen enjoyment this bright young creature looked forward to existence. As we gaze on the vivid coloring of these healthy features, and at the hardly suppressed audacity that stamps their expression, we feel sure the body as well as the soul of this young girl had never known any form of sorrow or pain. Where pleasure was to be culled she would be found, as certainly as in household life she would be ready to help and capable in her undertakings. She would spare no trouble for her own advantage, or to be one of the best dressed maidens at any festival; for, though her earrings and necklace are none of the finest, her black hair is dressed in a manner that has cost her much time and pains. At first sight this coiffure looks like a cap, with curly locks escaping from beneath it; but if we compare it with No. 8, on which it has been painted with greater care and remains in better preservation, we perceive that it is composed of long rows of carefully twisted small curls, fixed in their place, as it would seem, by wires and covered with a net; this in No. 8 seems to have been spangled with red stones, garnets or carnelian. This elaborate and rather barbarous mode of hairdressing and her dark skin lead us to suppose that this damsel was an Egyptian by birth; though No. 8, who wears the same coiffure—and to whom we shall presently return—has a purely Greek cast of features. In searching for a similar style of headdress elsewhere I found something resembling it

on early Egyptian monuments, and others almost exactly like it in Greek heads from Cyprus, which in the time of the Ptolemies was closely connected with Egypt.\* It need not be decided whether the fair islanders borrowed the fashion from their Egyptian sisters, or *vice versa*, or whether each independently evolved this elaborate coiffure, which in many cases suggests a wig. Nor is there anything to contradict this hypothesis, since young men wore wigs by the Nile at a very early date. Some indeed remain, and are preserved in our museums; several were found with the royal mummies at Der-el-Bahri.

No. 12 wears her hair in a similar but somewhat stiffer fashion. Her features seem to bear a stamp of Semitic parentage, and it is the same with Nos. 53 and 59. But how different otherwise are these three young faces! What they have in common are their intensely black and crisply waving hair, dark eyes, and, for such young faces, rather prominent noses; but while, in No. 12, we see a clear-headed and rational person of grave intelligence, not deficient, however, in certain graces of mind—as we may judge from the admirably modeled and expressive mouth—in No. 59 we see, perhaps, the light-hearted child of a rich family, expecting much of life, and promising to become a gentle and even-tempered wife to her future husband. Her companion, No. 53, was a damsel never at a loss for an answer. Those lips were certainly ever ready with a disdainful retort, and her spirit was as certainly not easily contented and satisfied.

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\* Cesnola. A Descriptive Atlas—On Various Female Heads. See, too, the German edition by L. Stern for two similar heads. Pl. 30 and 72.

No. 11 was quite different. This girl, the daughter of Semitic rather than of Egyptian parents, had a kind and cheerful soul; a genial, bright nature is revealed in the firm and rather heavy chin, and soft, readily smiling mouth. Her right eye seems to have had a slight cast, but she certainly was not ill-looking, and even if her appearance was not attractive she must have been loved and sought after, for it is beyond a doubt that she would give to all the best she had to give, and be ever ready to rejoice with the joyful. In this respect, however, No. 32 may have excelled her. This little round face is familiar to us all, and associated with our happiest hours. Eyebrows that meet are apt to lead us to expect a grave or gloomy temper, but in spite of them, and although her other features can not be called beautiful, No. 32 strikes us as amiable, capable, and cheerful. If No. 11 could laugh sympathetically and take a warm-hearted and affectionate interest in what others felt, No. 32 could provoke mirth; many an ingenious jest and harmless merry quip must have had birth in that little round head, decked so saucily and so becomingly with a row of coins hanging from a chain.

And now we come to the gems of the collection—Nos. 8 and 45. It is difficult to find words that will do justice to the charm which these delightful portraits never fail to exert on the beholder, and I should feel confident indeed of my readers' gratitude if instead of a mere description I could place before them a reproduction of these pictures. The eyes of No. 45, into which I have gazed long and often, haunt me still, and others have had the same experience. They are indeed unique. It is not that there is anything mys-

tical or uncanny about them, not that their victorious self-confidence brings the adorer to his knees—far from it. This noble, maidenly creature looks forth, unconscious of her irresistible beauty, without a sign of effort to attract or to please—looks at the spectator with the repose of indifference. Sheer waste of time would it be for her, so secure of admiration, to try to win it! An indescribably noble and lofty air pervades her whole being.

This much-adored maiden has no instinct of coquetry, because every grace and gift which the vainer sort desire is showered into her lap; because she has but to show herself to win every heart. She never purposes conquest, but it is her happy fortune to conquer wherever she appears, and she involuntarily holds her head erect with lofty pride. He on whom these unfathomable deep black eyes had rested, with their freely arched, strongly marked brows, and indescribably pure, frank, guileless gaze, so bright and yet so soft—he is a captive forever. With how loving a hand has the goddess of grace herself smoothed that oval cheek, and how happily has the artist succeeded in rendering it, and the finely curved mouth—full of sweetness, but closed with dignified reserve! Her hair, not crisped but broadly waving, dark and Greek, is lightly piled in a high mass of unadorned but imposing curls. It covers her temples, and leaves no more of her forehead visible than a triangle rounded above and framed in an arch by two full waves of hair. The nose, Greek in form, finely modeled, and not too slender, harmonizes with the rest of this bewitching face, delicate in every feature, small and weak in none. But those eyes—I come back to them—they illuminate the

whole; in this firmament where so much is lovely they are as the sun which none can forget on whom they have shone. How fair a maid! And just as she beams on us after more than two thousand years from the painted panel, she might appear in the flesh, as secure of admiration and homage as in her own day and country. Apelles might have taken her for a Roxana or a Galatea, a German or French painter of our time for a Philippine Welser, or for the beautiful Queen Louise, if her portrait had been lost. This girl's likeness, preserved from a long past age, affords convincing evidence of the universal and perennial truth of a real standard of beauty.

No. 8 is not far inferior to No. 45, little as they resemble each other in details. They have in common, indeed, the charming oval outline and the harmonious concord of every detail; but while No. 45 is of purely Greek ancestry, it is conceivable that No. 8 may have some infusion of Egyptian blood; her skin has the tawny glow peculiar to the fairest Egyptian women, whom we find depicted as yellow even on the earliest monuments, and her hair is dressed in a fashion resembling that of the time of the Pharaohs, which would hardly have found imitators among the Greeks; indeed, the rolls of little curls which I have already described as caplike, and the net that covers them, beaded with garnets, carnelian, or red jasper, are far more Egyptian than Greek. Many ladies of Cyprus, as I have said, adopted a similar fashion. It is not becoming, and the fact that the face represented in No. 8 is so unmistakably attractive in spite of it, speaks eloquently for its winning sweetness. This damsel's eyes, too, are worthy of all praise, though we are tempted to ascribe

the magic charm of her likeness as much to the really bewitching mouth as to the eyes. The expression of No. 45 is that of a lofty soul; of No. 8 it is that of a bright and affectionate heart. The nose is here a masterpiece; its delicate contour combines with the mouth and eyes to produce a delightful whole, and leads us to believe with entire conviction in the spiritual charm of the lovely young creature before us. What an innocent, loving, and happy heart must have throbbed in this girl's breast!—a gentle and obedient daughter, an affectionate companion to her younger brothers and sisters, a devoted and unfailingly patient wife to the happy husband of her choice! Vehement passions can scarcely have disturbed her sunny equanimity; but if her tender heart was captivated she would be constant, for there is in her expression something true and clinging, which indicates that her pretty head was furnished with a clear and quick intelligence. Nay, in this respect she was, perhaps, the superior of the fairest of the fair—No. 45.

I must here end my remarks on individual portraits, though with regret; for each in turn tempts us to study its peculiar characteristics, each tells its own story. Setting aside the really inferior paintings, executed probably for poorer citizens by journeymen painters, if we look only at the considerable number of works by really skilled artists, we are compelled in the first place to express our astonishment at finding that in Egypt, of all countries—the home of conventional art, where painting was fettered by a canon of drawing and execution—such portraits as these could be produced, and attached to objects so purely Egyptian as mummy cases. But surprise vanishes when we reflect

that under Hellenic rule Greek art was able at an early date to amalgamate with Egyptian art, in sculpture as well as in painting, the cultured classes yielding from the first to the influence of the race which now held the supremacy in their native land, and which, in all that related to the higher intellectual life, was so far in advance of themselves. Greek had become the language of literature and fashion in the upper ranks, and though the peasantry and laboring class may have clung to the mother tongue of their forbears—as in Alsace they clung to German under French rule—even under the Lagides it soon assimilated a quantity of words from the Hellenic and other languages, preserved to us in the Coptic, which is ancient Egyptian as it was written in the Greek character after the Christian era. In philosophy and æsthetic learning the Egyptians of that time tried to resemble the colonists as much as possible, though in all other respects they adhered tenaciously to their national traditions and ancestral possessions. The settlers, on the other hand, boasted of their Hellenic origin, but, as has been shown, they degenerated from the lofty idealism of their race, and eagerly embraced the realistic tendency which was paramount at Alexandria in every manifestation of material and intellectual vitality.

Still, this realism had its ideal, and that was truth. These portraits bear more convincing witness to the fact than any other works of art preserved to us from that period; for, while they are quite free from any idealizing sentiment and from the typical tradition which stamps every work of this class surviving from an earlier time, on the other hand, they show not the slightest trace of the conventional rigidity imposed by

rule and canon on early Egyptian art. They are not even affected by the premeditated purpose often seen in the late antique; for the only purpose that guided the hand of these painters was the desire to represent the living model with the most convincing sincerity and truth, to make the work "alive," as Daneker expressed it when modeling the bust of Schiller. And this aim concerned not merely the outer form, but the whole spirit and temperament of the person depicted. Hence each one of these portraits is a study of character; as we examine them we feel ourselves face to face with nature, and can read in their features—in which the artist has not failed to show every congenital defect as well as every beauty—the inmost faults and weakness of the original. There is here, I repeat, no canon, no tradition, no idealizing treatment, to be allowed for or set aside; we may accept unconditionally the record of the paintings, and they are executed with such astonishing truth to nature—not, however, excluding great dignity of treatment—that we can feel no doubt of their absolute fidelity. Notwithstanding their great antiquity, and the ethnological peculiarities of several, they appeal to us as fellow-men such as we may meet in the course of daily life; and what we see before us so rivets our attention that how it was painted becomes a secondary question.

I have left the discussion of this point to a professor of the art, Herr Donner von Richter. It may, however, be observed that the artistic merit of the best of Herr Graf's portraits is acknowledged with enthusiasm by the most famous living painters. Meissonnier—now, alas, no more—Von Lenbach, Gabriel Max, Adolf Menzel, Knauss, and many more, have paid them a warm

tribute of admiration, and have copied some. We might suspect that the effects were produced by a method of painting with wax and fusion by heat, for the results ascribed by classic writers to pictures executed in wax colors must have some foundation in fact. One of the most pleasing utterances on the subject to be found in ancient literature is contained in one of the songs ascribed to Anacreon, in which the poet challenges his friend, a painter, to depict his mistress:

“Paint me my mistress with her soft black tresses, and, if the wax consent, paint them breathing of myrrh.”

The lines suggest No. 45, whose raven locks must certainly have been anointed with fragrant unguents.

It is hard to tear ourselves from these men and women, young and old, who had all come to rest together in the favorite burial place on the shore by Kerke. The instinctive feeling which prompted the adornment of the mummy with an image of the dead is very ancient; it spread to the oasis from the Nile Valley, where the mummies were decorated with a modeled mask instead of a painting, as has been described above. Even in our own *fin de siècle* it still is strong, especially in Italy, where, in the *campo santo* and the cemetery, we often see portraits in relief and busts of the dead of really appalling realism; nay, photographs of the dead who rest below are not unfrequently displayed on the humbler graves.

How little can the Hellenic Greeks, who had these pictures painted of the beloved dead, ever have dreamed that two thousand years later the barbarians of the inhospitable north would derive from them new ideas

of the artistic proficiency of the painters of that day, and be prompted to study their spiritual life from their outer man,

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### CONCLUSION.

*With an abstract and appreciation of the views put forward  
by Flinders Petrie.*

The principal results of this dissertation, and of the excavations at Hawara conducted by Mr. Flinders Petrie, may be summed up as follows:

The necropolis whence most of the portraits in the Graf collection were obtained belonged to the Græco-Egyptian river port of Kerke, in the Fayum. Those brought to Europe by Flinders Petrie and other discoverers were found in the district of Hawara, which may now be confidently designated as the town where once the Labyrinth existed. Here the dead were entombed from the time of the middle kingdom till that of the Roman supremacy.

Towards the end of the dynasty of the Lagides that of Kerke seems to have been chiefly used by the citizens of Arsinoë, while under the Romans, Hawara, which was nearer, seems to have been preferred by them.

The persons interred were for the most part Hellenized Egyptians of Greek origin, but we find among them Græco-Egyptian half-breeds, others with an admixture of Ethiopian blood, and a rather large proportion of Semitic race—Jews and Phœnicians.

The portraits were originally painted for family

use in the home. Some were removed to be attached to the mummy; but most of them seem to have been copies on panels of cypress or sycamore wood, from originals painted in fresco on the wall of a room.

All these portraits were undoubtedly done for heathen purposes.

The period of their execution ranges from the second century before Christ—probably about the middle, but possibly not before the last years of it, under the Ptolemies—to the time of the edict of Theodosius, in the last decade of the fourth century after Christ.

I greatly regret that the work by Flinders Petrie on the portraits found by him at Hawara only came into my hands when the foregoing remarks were already completed.\* He ascribes all the portraits, among them the finest now at Bulak and in the National Gallery, London, to the Roman period. With regard to the greater number he is undoubtedly right; but perhaps he may think that the reasons I have given justify us in referring the oldest to the second century before Christ.

His theory that these carefully adorned portrait mummies were preserved in a room in the family dwelling before being transferred to the necropolis I am quite ready to accept, for it also accounts for the very careless interment of mummies on which so much expense had been lavished. The nearest surviving relations cherished them piously and kept them near them, but a later generation made room for the more

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\* The reader who has not immediate access to Hawara, by W. Flinders Petrie, London (A. Tuer, 1890), is referred to a cheap and comprehensive little volume by the same author, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, Religious Tract Society, London, 1893.

recently dead by depositing the older mummies in the necropolis, where they were hastily covered with sand! The labels were not attached until their removal for burial; and as the first—and perhaps the second—generation gave the mummy of the beloved dead houseroom in the family mortuary chamber, to be near the “counterfeit presentment,” of which they worshiped the Ka by offering it incense, these labels were not inscribed till some long time after the death of the person to whom they were attached for transport. We may therefore, perhaps, assume that many of the labels were not filled up till several years after the painting of the portraits.

As to whether the mummies found in the tombs at Rubaiyat-Kerke were deposited there immediately after death or not till later, no opinion can be formed.

The mode of interment remained unaffected by political events, and to distinguish here between what is of late Ptolemaic date and what is Roman, is only possible by basing our judgment not merely on the general aspect of the pictures but on a careful study of every minute detail. The amulets found on Petrie's mummies support the notion that all the portrait mummies inclose the remains of heathen, placing it, indeed, beyond question. My *terminus ad quem* coincides very nearly with his; he gives no reasons, but fixes the period of Constantine the Great (+337).

The evidence that the group of portraits which include the best must have been painted in the time of the Ptolemies, is to be found in records which prove to a demonstration that so early as in the second century before Christ Hellenic Egyptians of Greek extraction

were preserved as mummies and interred in the Egyptian manner.

It is also proved by the artistic merits of the portraits.

And, in the third place, the highly realistic treatment of the best, and therefore the earliest, can hardly have been the work of any other period than the second century before Christ. It seems impossible to ascribe it to any other epoch of Greek art before or since.

The realism we here discern, and which was then prominent not in art alone but in learning and in every aspect of life, obliges us to assign this date for the execution of these pictures. It would be as difficult to account for their origin in a post-Christian era as it is natural to ascribe it to a period not too long after the final amalgamation of Egyptian and Greek life in Alexandria. At the time when Flinders Petrie supposes that they were painted, the art was decidedly in its decadence, and could hardly have been spurred on to produce any such innovation as we are here considering.

The period I assume is further supported by individual peculiarities.

Those which represent men wearing the "lock of youth" are portraits of "relations" of the king, who demonstrably belonged to the court circle of the Ptolemaic sovereigns, and who were not rarely natives of the province and of Egyptian blood, whose fathers filled important posts, religious, political, or military.

The only four dignitaries buried at Kerke (Rubaiyat), since they wear mantles of hyacinth purple, and the sword attached to a belt with gold clasps hanging on the left side, in opposition to the Roman habit of

wearing it on the right, could not possibly have lived and been painted at any other period.

Finally, my views as to the date of the pictures is confirmed by other similar portraits found elsewhere, and by certain clauses in the edict of Theodosius.

Many, indeed, of the portraits found at Hawara, and some of those from Rubaiyat, were painted during the Roman imperial rule. Those which were done at the time of Hadrian are inferior as works of art to the finest in the Graf collection, or the best of those brought home by Flinders Petrie; they seem, indeed, to prove that far less care was devoted to the portraits for mummies in the second century after Christ than at an earlier date, for the archon for whom they were executed was a man of consequence; the art of painting had also begun to decline. Many of the latest portraits seem to indicate that at last people were satisfied to attach to the mummy any picture of a person of about the age of the deceased instead of a real portrait. Between the best of the Graf collection and the linen shrouds on which a face was painted there lies as wide an interval as between the head on a fine coin of the Ptolemies and that on a solidus of Constantine the Great.

The form and value of the various objects found by Flinders Petrie on some of the portrait mummies bear ample witness to the rank and position of the deceased. I need only mention the fine ivory casket laid in one lady's grave, and a litter with windows, borne by slaves, which was buried with another. It is only of terra cotta, but it was to save her from going on foot even in the other world, just as the ushabti figures buried with her ancestors were to till the fields for them.

The opinion based on the golden ornaments, strings of pearls, and rich textiles shown in many portraits is hereby confirmed.

The panel with a portrait on each surface is as important as the extraordinarily various quality and style of the paintings in showing how long the practice of adding portraits to the mummy cases must have continued.

THE END.







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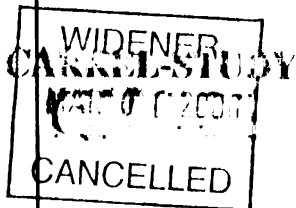


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